Recent Research in Bible Lands

Edited by

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RECENT RESEARCH IN BIBLE LANDS.

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The American Expedition at Work in Nuffar.

RECENT RESEARCH IN BIBLE LANDS

ITS PROGRESS AND RESULTS

BY

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HERMAN V. HILPRECHT

PHILADELPHIA
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1896

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INTRODUCTION.

The present century has witnessed the deciphering of the hieroglyphics by Champollion and of the cuneiform script by Grotefend, two of the most remarkable achievements of human ingenuity. A radical change of our whole conception of the political and social conditions in the ancient world was the natural result of these memorable events. In fact, the rich history of the two most influential centers of ancient civilization, Egypt and Babylonia, of which the latter had been forgotten almost completely, was thereby restored to our wondering and working age. And now, when the nineteenth century draws slowly to its close, the stupendous assiduity and great mental gifts of Jensen of Marburg have forced the Hittite sphinx to surrender her long-guarded secret. Asia Minor, the most unexplored and unknown part of the pre-Christian world, begins to tell us from its own inscriptions and tombs about the different peoples which took a leading part in the great movements of the ancient East.

The Bible student has watched the results of these researches in Egypt and Babylonia, Palestine and

Arabia, Assyria and Asia Minor, with the deepest possible interest. For these very lands, with their numerous cities and temples, from whose ruins the spade of the explorer obtained his revolutionizing results during the last decenniums, were closely connected with the history of Israel, and were more or less the scene upon which God in his own providence, and by his own peculiar means, established a lasting kingdom, not built of stone and perishable material, but of the living word. Yet, so far, it has been practically impossible for every earnest Bible student who did not happen to work, at the same time, in the very limited circle of the specialists, to gain a harmonious picture and to acquire a trustworthy knowledge of what is done year after year by the explorer, decipherer, philologian, and historian, of the East. The present work, which has grown out of a series of articles especially prepared by leading specialists of Europe and America for The Sunday School Times, is intended to fill this serious gap in our literature. No pains has been spared by the Editor and Publisher of The Sunday School Times to lay the results as completely and as richly illustrated as possible before the public. The illustrations are, for the greater part, unpublished material, which the present editor, through his close connection with the Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, through his personal relation to the Imperial Ottoman Museum in Constan-

tinople, and through his own repeated travels and researches in the East, was enabled to incorporate in this review of the most important results of recent research in Bible lands. Everything that in the mass of acquired results seemed of less importance, or not well enough established by the investigations of the specialists, has been excluded from these pages.

Representative scholars of both continents have written the single chapters of this book with the knowledge of the specialist, but in such a manner as will make it a valuable source of information to every educated layman and Bible student, for whose enlightenment it has, first of all, been written.

Mr. Henry G. Talmadge and Mr. Montague Cockle, who have devoted much time to the preparation of the Indexes, deserve warm thanks for the careful manner in which they have done their work, and thereby increased the usefulness of this volume.

H. V. Hilprecht.

On board the steamship "Havel,"
New York, March 24, 1896.

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ORIENTAL RESEARCH AND THE BIBLE.

First store-chamber unearthed in Pithom.

ORIENTAL RESEARCH AND THE BIBLE.

BY PROFESSOR J. F. McCURDY, PH.D., LL.D.

Oriental research has affected our knowledge of the two great divisions of the Bible in very different ways and degrees. The two covenants belong to widely dissimilar stages in the history of the world, in its political, moral, and spiritual development. We may mark one aspect of this difference by saying that the Old Testament is ancient in a sense in which the word cannot be applied to the New. Accordingly, while archeological inquiry has not been without value for New Testament study, it has produced no results in the way of supplementing, corroborating, and elucidating the sacred record that are comparable in importance to those which have been achieved in behalf of the Old. It will accordingly be proper to confine ourselves, in the present brief survey, to the broad region of investigation from which light has been shed upon the ancient Scriptures.

How is it that archeological science is brought into such close relations with the Bible? A glance at the contents of the Old Testament answers the question.

The unforced association rests upon the twofold fact that the ancient revelation is a literature distinctly Oriental in form and aspect, and remote from our modern and Western types and ideals, and is at the same time ever fresh and living, and fraught with the truth that is regenerating our race. It is a literature human and universal, for it contains history, biography, legislation, ethical teaching, and a manifold national and religious poetry. Moreover, it has to do with tribes and peoples that have played a great part in the world's history. Above all, it is concerned with that people to whom this living truth was revealed, and who typically illustrated its working in their own lives and fates.

Now these tribes and nations lived their lives and played their parts in a definite, restricted portion of the Orient. There are the "Bible lands," the arena upon which the God of history, of providence, and of redemption, specially displayed his power and grace. The great primary revelation of his dealings with men is embodied in the Hebrew literature. These Bible lands have yielded to us a secondary revelation. It is subordinate, indeed, to the first, but it is richly supplementary and illustrative. It is the province of Oriental archeology to deal with the peoples and countries and languages of the Bible so as to bring out their true relations to Bible teaching. They were formerly regarded as the mere framework of the picture. Now we are learning that

they make up its groundwork, its coloring, and its perspective. They embrace, in a word, what is material in the revelation, apart from what is spiritual and ideal. And these elements, the outward and the inward, are to us inseparable, as they were in their evolution mutually involved and interwoven.

It will thus be seen that Oriental studies have to do with the Old Testament in its two great functions or aspects of literature and history. As illustrating the Old Testament literature, or its words and thoughts, archeology is concerned with the peoples of the Bible lands, their local habitations, their languages, their manners and customs, their political constitution, their mental and moral characteristics. As auxiliary to Old Testament history, it considers the same things genetically, in their bearing upon the preparation of Israel for the place assigned to it in the order of Providence. But it is more particularly concerned with the events of Israel's career, the occasions of these events, their associations with related phenomena in the kindred communities, and the forward and upward movement which was the resultant of all these forces co-operating under a divine impulse and control.

I may add a word of practical suggestion as to the scope and methods of archeological inquiry. It is not merely exploration,—the hunting after manuscripts and inscriptions as the primary, and works of art and archi-

tecture as the secondary, material of research. It is the glory of modern scholarship that it makes all the historical sciences subserve the study of men and of human relations. Any light is welcome from any source that can make clearer the conditions of life and progress among the people of the Bible, that can explain any of its obscure allusions, fill up a gap in its narratives, or even illustrate its phraseology. To test and amplify the work of excavation, it is wont to invoke the results of literary criticism, as well as of comparative sociology and politics. Its range is limited only by the scope and the interests of the Bible itself.

Bible lands, in the Old Testament sense, are approximately defined by the two great regions that formed the seats of the earliest civilizations. Comparatively little is said of countries east of the Tigris, still less of any localities west of the Nile. Palestine, the permanent home of the Hebrews, was not their original dwelling-place. Its soil does not contain the only, or indeed the principal, outward witnesses to their history or literature. For these we have to look also to Egypt, Babylonia, and Assyria. The reasons therefor will at once suggest themselves. These nations, with their cosmopolitan culture, political predominance, and literary activity, furnish many monumental reminiscences of that country which was of so great strategic and commercial importance to the rival empires on the west and on the east.

Israel was also more or less closely connected politically with one or another of these nationalities from the beginning of its eventful history to the close of the exile. Intermediate localities have, however, furnished useful items here or there. Arabia is a great storehouse of illustrations of the manners and customs, the social and religious usages, of the ancient peoples of Palestine and Syria. It has also preserved monumental evidence of no mean value as to certain important epochs and events.

To the biblical archeologist Egypt affords a field for study that is both wide and fascinating. Its contiguity to Palestine, its tenacious interest in the whole of the Syrian coast-land, its social and commercial relations with the Hebrews and their nearest kindred, give an antecedent presumption that the peoples of Canaan would not be unnoticed in its monumental remains. Moreover, through the unequaled facilities for exploration in Egypt, an enormous mass of recovered documents and works of art have brought to our view its long interrupted and varied civilization. And yet it must be admitted that comparatively few results of first-class importance for biblical science have so far been achieved by Egyptology. Its value for Bible study is indeed great, but it is rather indirect than direct. It is a training-school, rather than a seminary, of biblical archeology. Its discoveries and assured results are interesting and educative in the highest degree, but they have not

as yet satisfied the more sanguine expectations of earnest readers of the Bible. One may perhaps venture to say that such must continue to be the general character of the quest. It is apparently impossible that Egypt can ever be of primary importance in the department of biblical study. In the first place, the historical records of the country, while for long periods sufficiently copious, are very defective in precision and accuracy. Again, we meet the outstanding fact that Egypt had nothing more than external associations with Palestine and its peoples. Its occasional occupations of territory were merely of a military character; and, in spite of its freedom of communication, it was never at home in Asia, outside of its natural pendant, the peninsula of Sinai. Even the residence of the Hebrews in Egypt was not likely to leave a deep mark upon the national life or history of its people. They lived normally as an isolated community of shepherds, like many another tribe that had crossed the isthmus from the desert. Of the two exceptional episodes, the administration of Joseph and the exodus, the former may well have been obliterated from the public records, and the latter never have been recorded at all. After the exodus we do not hear of Egyptian interference in Palestine till the raid of Shishak, about 920 B. C., and thereafter again not for three centuries, till the brief domination of Pharaoh Necho. During the period of the Hebrew monarchy it was known

as an asylum for Palestinian outlaws and rebels, and as an intriguer with Israel and the neighboring states against Assyria or Babylonia. Finally, the Egyptians had nothing in common with the Hebrews or their kindred in speech, in religious or literary traditions, or in habits of thought, and consequently little is to be expected from them in the way of illustration of the Hebrew language and literature.

What, then, are our principal gains from Egyptological research? In the foremost rank we have the splendid vindication of the accuracy of the writer of the account of Israel's sojourn in Lower Egypt. What is said in Genesis and Exodus of the character of the country, its government and its court, and the customs of the people, are shown to be pictures faithfully drawn from the life. Ample illustration is afforded, by the monuments, of the relations between the rulers of Egypt and shepherd tribes such as those of Israel. Peculiarly instructive is the exhibition given of the apparently anomalous state of affairs which could admit at one time of the oppression of a large class of the subject population, and at another of the elevation of a number of the same community to a position of power in the state. We have an instance of a Palestinian minister, under Khu-en-aten, at the end of the fifteenth century B. C., and of a cupbearer, also Canaanitish, under Rameses III in the thirteenth. The subjection of tribes and clans from

southern Palestine and the desert, the descendants of those who, like the Hebrews, had crossed the isthmus in search of food and pasturage, was frequent, and, indeed, inevitable. And the monuments bear repeated testimony to the "labor with rigor" exacted from such dependants, especially in the works carried on in the neighborhood of the royal city of Memphis.

The whole subject of the residence of the Hebrews in Goshen must be viewed in connection with the general fact that, until the era of the expulsion of the Hyksos, at the beginning of the sixteenth century B.C., the prevailing influence in northern Egypt was Palestinian. Witness especially the names of deities worshiped there, such as Baal, Astarte, and Reshep, the Phenician Vulcan. Indeed, the successive invasions of Palestine and Syria which intervened between that era and the exodus were prompted as much by an instinct of self-preservation as by dreams of foreign conquest. It is a guiding fact not easily overestimated, that the relations between Egypt and Asia were wholly changed between the epoch of the shepherd princes and the exodus, and that the so-called "patriarchal period" of Israel falls before and within the former epoch. As to the exodus itself, the confirmation is of the same indirect and yet encouraging kind. Mention of the event in the records is still looked for in vain; but the story of the oppression is signally illustrated by the great discovery of the "treasure city" of

Pithom with its straw-less bricks. Moreover, the same series of excavations has shown that an inlet of the "Sea of Reeds" came close to the city of Pithom, so that at least one main center of Hebrew population is located within reach of the place of the passage.

Next in importance to these kinds of testimony is the information afforded by the Egyptian monuments as to the peoples and lands of Palestine and Syria. Here again it is the pre-Mosaic rather than the post-Mosaic times that are most fully illustrated. The evidence fits in finely with the Babylonian notices of these early days, to help to fill out the story of the Bible lands between Abraham and Moses. I can only allude to two classes of memorials. We have first the long list of Palestinian and Syrian proper names which abound in the inscriptions of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties. A large number of words have been identified with biblical and modern place-names, such as Salem (Jerusalem), Joppa, Gaza, Megiddo, Kishon, Shunem, Gath, Ekron, Hamath, Kadesh, Sidon, Sarepta. Among such terms it seems surprising to find the names of Jacob and Joseph coupled with the general name for "a god." Modernized, we have them as *Jacob-el* and *Joseph-el.* These are found in the lists of places in Palestine drawn up by the great conqueror, Thothmes III, about the beginning of the fifteenth century. A possible explanation of the names is that, in course of time, these heroes of early

Hebrew history had been raised to the rank of demi-gods. If this hypothesis is correct, two conclusions would seem to follow. Since Joseph, whose career was distinctly Egyptian, is found thus honored in Canaan, it would seem that the connection of Israel with Canaan during this era was much closer than has been generally supposed. Again, since a long time must have elapsed between the lifetimes of these heroes and their deifications, we have to relegate the age of the patriarchs to a much earlier date than the fifteenth century. As we shall see, the Babylonian inscriptions confirm this supposition, and actually supply us with the date of Abraham.

But the Egyptian records also give us important historical notices. They give us a fairly complete conception of that eventful era, from the sixteenth to the thirteenth century, in which Palestine was being prepared to become the abode of the chosen people. They show us how, at the beginning of that period, Syria, as well as Palestine, was made an appanage of Egypt. They relate how Egypt was forced to relax her hold in consequence of local uprisings; how finally she fully retrieved her position under the much vaunted nineteenth dynasty, and that then she was met by the Hittites, and compelled to call a halt upon the Syrian border. They demonstrate how the result of the conflict was to prevent either antagonist from permanently retaining Palestine for itself, and how it was still kept as a land of promise

for the impending occupation by the Hebrews. To this story of Providence, the wonderful recent discoveries at El-Amarna have materially contributed. Though found in the soil of Egypt, three hundred miles up the Nile, they are nearly all written in a dialect of the Babylonian language. The fact is typical. For light upon the larger relations of Israel, and upon the historical motives and processes that determined its destiny, we must go outside of Egypt. What has come directly from thence, illustrates the *rôle* which the Bible assigns to the land of the Pharaohs. It was the cradle and the nursery of Israel, whose youth and manhood were molded by the more educative influences of a wider and richer environment. "When Israel was a *child*, then I loved him, and called my son *out of* Egypt."

The Arabs are the oldest and purest race of men in the world, and Arabic is the oldest surviving form of human speech. Northern Arabia is supposed, on good grounds, to have been the dwelling-place of the Semites before their separation. In any case, the Arabic language is certainly nearer to the primitive Semitic idiom than any of the sister tongues. This consideration alone enables us to gauge the antiquity of the peoples with whom the Bible has most to do.

Two facts may here be noted as suggestive: The Egyptian language contained a large Semitic element, which was incorporated many ages before the date of the

earliest surviving monuments; and the people themselves were also in part Semitic. Even more instructive is the association with Babylonia. The civilization of that country is at least as old as that of Egypt. Now at the date of the earliest written monuments (4000 B. C.) its language, derived from the primitive Semitic, was in an advanced stage of decay, and must have parted company with the Arabic an unknown number of centuries before that time. Thus the most general glance at Arabia opens up to us as Bible students an indefinite backward perspective, checked by an illuminating sidelight at a date still currently supposed to be that of the creation of man.

And yet Arabia is but slightly available for antiquarian research. It is remarkable that, though writing was employed for business purposes from very early times, it was by Christians that Arabic was first used as a written language for literary purposes. The general statement that Arabia contains but limited material for biblical illustration has to be made with two important restrictions. A large number of inscriptions have been found in southwest Arabia written in the so-called Sabæan characters. These have been skilfully interpreted by the discoverers and other scholars. They show, among other things, that, besides the famous kingdom of Sheba, there was another monarchy called Ma'in (hence the classical and now current term "Minean"). This was

an empire of great extent, stretching northward to the peninsula of Sinai, even Gaza in Palestine for a time having been its tributary. The people themselves are perhaps alluded to in Judges 10 : 12 and 2 Chronicles 26 : 7. We thus have both authentic information of the far-famed kingdom of Sheba, and testimony as to the condition of northern Arabia at the time of the wanderings of Israel. This region is thus shown to have been then occupied by a people the very reverse of uncultured. Hence the broad inference has been drawn, that the Israelites, not only in Egypt, but also during their life in the desert, had an environment which in any case must have lifted them above barbarism, even if their ancestors had not themselves been a cultured people, according to the standards of the East. The bearing of this conclusion on the literary development of Israel need not be specially pointed out; but in this connection I would remind the reader of the social and intellectual solidarity of Palestine, Egypt, and the intervening region, in the days preceding the exodus.

Now as to the Holy Land itself. One's first thought here is of the indispensable work of survey and surface exploration which has made intelligent Bible readers so much at home in Palestine east and west of the Jordan and in the desert of the exodus. Magnificent maps have been made, and many biblical sites identified,—cities, villages, mountains, valleys, brooks, fountains,

and caves. Apparently now we have nearly reached the limit of identification by measurement and surface examination. In the supremely important work of excavation little has as yet been systematically undertaken. Many another site may be indubitably fixed by successful digging, just as many of the cities of Babylonia and Assyria have given up their names to the delvers among their ruins. But it is inscriptional remains that are the great desideratum in Palestine. It may be said that the excavations in Jerusalem itself are disappointing in this respect, though so many unsuspected architectural remains have been uncovered, and that even the exact site of Zion, the city of David, is not yet settled beyond dispute. But the fact is that ancient Jerusalem has as yet been scarcely reached. Inscriptions are not to be expected in large numbers for periods after the time of Christ, for then the day of brick and stone and wood as writing-materials was wellnigh past. Inscribed stones in public buildings form an exception. Such a one was found by M. Ganneau, which had originally been placed in the partition between the temple proper and the Court of the Gentiles.

This only brings us down to what may be called the Herodian stratum of the city's growth, and doubtless Hebrew and Canaanitic inscriptions lie beneath. Of more ancient written documents we have the well-known stone of Mesha, king of Moab, who threw off the yoke of

Ahab of Israel in the ninth century B. C. This became at once a classical text for Old Testament history. Add to this the equally famous inscription in the Siloam tunnel, probably of the time of Hezekiah, and we have what were until lately the only specimens of lengthy inscriptions. But these were found without special underground search. We have a pledge of fuller and richer disclosures in the discovery, in 1892, by Dr. Bliss, in Tell el-Hesy, the probable site of the ancient Lachish, of a cuneiform tablet which supplements the El-Amarna letters from Palestine to Egypt in the fifteenth century B. C. What will be the value of future revelations from the soil of Palestine we cannot even approximately estimate. Of its successive occupations, only the Babylonian and the Egyptian are likely to be commemorated by numerous inscriptions. At best we cannot expect such a rich harvest as has been gathered from the valleys of the Nile and the Euphrates. The Hebrews were not in the habit of recording fully on imperishable materials their deeds or their traditions. Yet the language of the Old Testament abounds with references to the art of the engraver, as well as of the scribe; and, if we cannot hope to obtain original lengthy documents of the age of the earlier Scriptures, we may reasonably look for many brief illuminating references to Bible localities, peoples, and teachings.

A vast stretch of territory, just opened up at one or

two points by the explorer's spade, separates Palestine from the region where modern research has achieved its greatest triumphs, and the Bible its most complete vindication and illustration. The fascinating story of the explorations in the realms of ancient Babylonia and Assyria should be told in its outlines to every Bible-class pupil. Here it will only be possible to indicate some of their most valuable results. The reader is reminded that almost the whole of the revelation has come to us within the last half-century.

1. The land itself, only next in sacredness to Palestine, has become known to us moderns in its ancient aspect. We can bring before our mind's eye the powerful and populous cities of which Babylon, though not the oldest, became the greatest. The imperial city itself, with all its suggestiveness of culture and power and pride and luxury, is unveiled to us; and now we can appreciate the numerous biblical references, direct and figurative, to Babylon the great. We have learned the actual foundation of the traditional glory of Babylonia and Assyria, with their temples and palaces, their commercial and legal institutions, their observatories, colleges, and factories.

2. There has been given to the world a new language, closely related to the language of the Old Testament. Many important biblical terms have received their first satisfactory explanation from their Assyrian cognates.

These are already numbered by the score, while those which receive most important illustration from the same source may be reckoned by the hundred. The very existence of this rich and copious language was unknown till the middle of this century; and now the "Chaldee," which it displaces, is known to be a figment as the name of a language, though at last fully understood as the name of a people.

3. Next we have a large and priceless literature, itself an absolutely new revelation, like the language which embodies it. The fame of the wisdom of the Chaldeans is justified and explained. The lore of "the astrologers, the star-gazers, the monthly prognosticators," is before us, with the varied intellectual products of a cultivated and learned society, perpetuated through thousands of years, revealing to us the long-sought beginnings of science and of the useful arts. What most engages the attention of the Bible student are its immemorial traditions, worked up by the imagination of story-tellers and poets at the very age when the Hebrew patriarchs, having left Babylonia behind them, were making a home for themselves in "the land of the Amorites." In highly artistic poems we have the earliest of the Hebrew records brought before us in a series of transformations. We hear the stories of the world's childhood, and of our own, rehearsed, as it were, in dreamland. In a somewhat similar category must be placed the practical reli-

gious poems or hymns. Some of their expressions recall in phrase as well as in spirit passages in the Hebrew psalms, even though these gems of Babylonian thought and feeling lie scattered here and there among dreary wastes of magical formulæ, incantations, exorcisms, and the like symbols of an unspiritual superstition.

4. The most valuable of all the monuments of Babylonia and Assyria are those which record or illustrate their history,—annals of kings and their achievements, descriptions of great public works, business documents which illustrate a period or an epoch, chronological or dynastic tables. A brief recital of the most instructive disclosures may here be given

Standing alone and unapproached in the history of the nations are the career and fate of Babylonia. It made the beginning and the ending of the rule of the northern Semites which lasted at least four thousand years. During this period it was usually the political and always the intellectual controlling power of western Asia. This means much in human history generally. It means still more to the student of the Bible. For, in its larger external relations, the career of Israel was an episode in the history of the northern Semites, of which Babylonia, with its offshoot Assyria, was the chief determining factor. The ruined cities of Babylonia have only begun to give up their longest hidden secrets; but already we have learned that the Mediterranean coast-

land was, during ancient times, generally under the control of the empires of the Tigris and Euphrates. To Babylonia is due, in large measure, the formation of the political environment of Israel. Many centuries before the exodus the whole western region as far as the sea was leavened by its material and mental culture. The history of Israel, unspeakably interesting and important as it was in itself, may now be seen in its true external setting. Its relative outward insignificance is made manifest. It was sixteen centuries after the first recorded expedition from Babylonia to the West, that Abraham, himself an emigrant from the banks of the Lower Euphrates, entered the Land of Promise. It was about a thousand years later that the Hebrews again entered Palestine, and became a nation. Seven centuries is the outside limit of their residence in Canaan as an independent people. During the latter half of this period they were at the mercy of Assyrians and Babylonians. Northern Israel was abolished by the one, Southern Israel was deported by the other. The following are a few of the points in which the historical and chronological cuneiform records illustrate or supplement the Old Testament.

1. The date of Abraham's repulse of the eastern confederacy headed by the Elamites is fixed at about 2250 B.C. The whole of Genesis 14 is now intelligible, even to the allusion to the "king of Salem." The names of

the leaders of the invasion are found to be quite or nearly matched in the inscriptions. The motives of the invaders are fully explained, and shown to be an incident in the settled policy of the Babylonian rulers, the first known expedition having been undertaken about 3800 B.C. with the same intent. The anomalous *régime* of the Egyptians in Palestine in the sixteenth and fifteenth centuries was possible by reason of the division and conflicts of Babylonia and the ambitious daughter state Assyria. Similar conditions account for the expansion of the Hittites. In the same way Israel in Canaan and the Aramean principalities in Syria found scope and opportunity for development, because the Assyrians, having become once supreme from east to west, relapsed for over a century into feebleness and inaction. The Book of Kings is now intelligible throughout. Viewed from our present standpoint, the political motive of the whole great stream of events is the incessant play and interaction of the minor currents in the Palestinian states as determined in direction and destiny by the mightier sweep of Babylonian and Assyrian enterprise.

2. The tragic and exemplary fortunes of the northern kingdom are understood as never before. Its relations in war and peace with the Aramean kingdom of Damascus are set in the clearest light. Ahab, in the singular alliance with Benhadad II, appears, as a member of a league of the western principalities, against the invasion

of Shalmaneser II of Assyria. Their defeat in 854 gives us the first sure date in biblical chronology,—a point of time from which we reckon back to David, Saul, and Samuel. The mutual repulsiveness of the same communities accounts for the perpetual feuds which facilitated the advance of the Assyrians, and made the weaker states among them resort to Nineveh for help against the stronger. Thus we learn from the monuments how the fierce and tyrannical Jehu became a fawning suppliant to Shalmaneser, just as, a century later, Ahaz of Judah invoked the protection of Tiglath-pileser III against the offensive alliance of Damascus and Syria, which led to the downfall of both of the aggressors. From the Assyrian records we learn the significance of such a fatal appeal. The relations of subject states in their various grades of subjection need to be generalized from the detailed instances of the Assyrian annals before we can understand the gradual effacement of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah, the harder terms dictated after revolt, their formal annexation, their final deportation. This chapter in political science is the master key to the whole history of the ancient East, and also to that of the kingdom of God in its Old Testament stages.

3. Samaria is shown by the inscriptions to have been taken by the soldiers of Sargon II early in 721 B.C. The principal epochs in the subsequent history of Judah are amply illuminated. Hezekiah received from Ahaz a

kingdom mortgaged to Assyria. Egypt, whose noxious interference had contributed to the fall of Samaria, appears again as a fomenter of insurrection in Palestine. The misguided patriotic party in Jerusalem disregards the warning given by the capture of the rebellious Ashdod in 711, and, after the accession of Sennacherib in 705, takes the lead in an alliance of disaffected states. In 701, the offended monarch appears in Palestine. He almost obliterates the kingdom of Judah, and defeats an auxiliary force of tardy Egyptians. Hezekiah is about to lose his city and throne, when a mysterious messenger of death cuts off the flower of the Assyrian army. The baffled invader leaves Palestine not to return. But Judah is too exhausted and chastened to again revolt. The religious as well as political influence of Assyria asserts itself strongly in Judah in the evil days of Manasseh. Egypt is added to the empire of the Assyrians. But their power at last succumbs to inner decay and external assault. Egypt now seizes the opportunity. In 609 B.C., the reformer Josiah of Judah, as a faithful vassal of Assyria, goes out to check the army of the Pharaoh in its march to the Euphrates. Josiah falls in the battle, and for a brief four years Egypt administers the affairs of Judah. Meanwhile Nineveh falls, in 608, at the hands of the Chaldeans, in league with the Aryans of Media. In Nebuchadrezzar the Chaldean, Babylonia's traditions of four thousand years find their most fitting exponent,

and her ancient policy its mightiest vindicator. He appears in the west; the Egyptians are defeated and vanish over the Isthmus. Her emissaries are still found in Babylonian Judah. Jeremiah's warnings against rebellion are unheeded. A series of revolts is ended in 586 by a final deportation of all Jews of consequence to the banks of the Euphrates. But the old Assyrian harshness is mitigated in the treatment of the colonists. A great enlargement of the Hebrew spirit takes place. The wider view of the world's affairs now gives breadth to the thought of the seer and the poet. The discipline of exile from home and from the national sanctuary has purified the conscience of the people. The sure hope of approaching deliverance stimulates the imagination of the prophets of the exile. Cyrus the Persian appears before Babylon. Isaiah and the inscriptions unite to celebrate his career, and to describe the fall of Babylon beneath his invincible arms. The exiles of Judah are permitted and assisted to return to their city and ruined temple. The new era of Jewish society and religion begins, amid the scenes of the old struggles and failures, under the protection of the same covenant God who, seventeen centuries before, had called their first father from "Ur of the Chaldees."

Another extremely important topic of archeological study I can barely mention. I refer to our ever-growing knowledge of the manners and customs, the political,

Ur of the Chaldees.

social, and religious institutions of the ancient Hebrew world. The distinctive phrases which give color and character to the vocabulary of the Bible were based upon the inner life of the people, and became ever more charged with their spirit and flavor as the community changed and developed in its checkered history. Such terms as "son," "father," "servant," "family," "covenant," "sacrifice," "sanctuary," all embody and record, as in a spiritual phonograph, the thoughts and feelings of many generations of men. It is the high function of linguistic and archeological research, as it turns the sacred roll, to make these long-silent voices live again, to give something of their native power and beauty to the words which "holy men of old spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost."

A few general observations may now close this outline sketch.

1. While prophecy shows the inner divine motive of the history of Israel and its environment of nations, and reveals the moral import of its events, the monuments are the complement of both, as they exhibit the causal relations between them and amplify their lessons.

2. The monuments are brought to light just at the time when we are prepared by scientific knowledge to understand them, and by the historic spirit to appreciate them. In any earlier age they would have been lost, destroyed, or wasted.

3. It is now in place to use the word "illustrate" almost exclusively instead of "confirm" in describing the biblical function of the monuments. The stadium of needed vindication of the historical accuracy of the Old Testament is now as good as past in our progress towards the final goal of truth and knowledge.

THE MOUNDS OF PALESTINE.

Tell es-Sultan (Jericho).

THE MOUNDS OF PALESTINE

BY FREDERICK JONES BLISS, PH.D.

The greatest hope for fresh light on the history of Palestine lies in the mounds scattered over its plains. The secrets of Assyria and Babylonia have been disclosed by a search of the mounds of those countries. Recent investigation of the mounds of Palestine shows that they contain historical features quite as valuable.

Every buried city is, in a certain sense, a mound. Ancient Jerusalem is one vast mound, upon which modern Jerusalem is built. The same is true of London. But the mounds of which I am writing are those called by the Arabic name of *tell*. Every traveler in Palestine has noticed them. Those most familiar to the ordinary tourist occur in the Jordan valley. As the rider approaches the end of the mountain pass, and as the splendid panorama breaks upon him, he is struck at once by the tall yellow mounds rising here and there from the brilliant verdure.

The Syrian tells are not large, varying from twenty to a hundred feet in height, and from fifty to fifteen hun-

dred feet in diameter. But the general appearance is the same in all: a fairly flat summit, sometimes rounding off near the sides, but more usually with a distinct edge.

Tell Beisân (Bethshean), a Jordan Valley mound.

The sides are steep. Some of them have more than one summit. Tell es-Sultan, near Elisha's Fountain at Jericho, is really a large platform about fifty feet high, with three distinct summits rising for fifty feet more near the edges. Some of the tells are used as modern cemeteries; others are under cultivation; others are covered by Arab villages. They are usually found near springs or wells, and occupy some natural swelling of the ground. The reason is obvious: the first settlers desired two things,—water, and a position suitable for defense. Their descendants, or their conquerors, continued from age to age

to occupy the same favorable position, and so the tells grew.

But how did they attain to such a height, and how did they finally approximate to the appearance of an ordinary hill? The answer is short: *mud brick.* Mud brick is at once the most destructible and the most indestructible of building materials. Mud brick is the great preserver. Mud brick requires no foundation but itself, so mud-brick town rises upon the foundation of mud-brick town until the site is finally abandoned, when the last settlement, being only mud brick, gradually falls to pieces, crumbles away, is washed by storm, is smoothed down by the plow, and hence the tell, really a pile of historical volumes arranged in chronological order, becomes a green hill, on first view an ordinary, natural feature of the landscape.

This regular stratification is a tell's unique importance. Stone-built cities form much *débris* from generation to generation, but it is largely a *débris* of chaos. Stone buildings require solid foundations, often rock foundations, hence the intervening *débris* is disturbed over and over again. Chronological order becomes confused. It is preserved, of course, in especial cases.

In search for the pier on the west side of the Tyropean valley on which should rest the span indicated by "Robinson's Arch," which projects from the west wall of the Temple area, Sir Charles Warren found, not only

Robinson's arch.

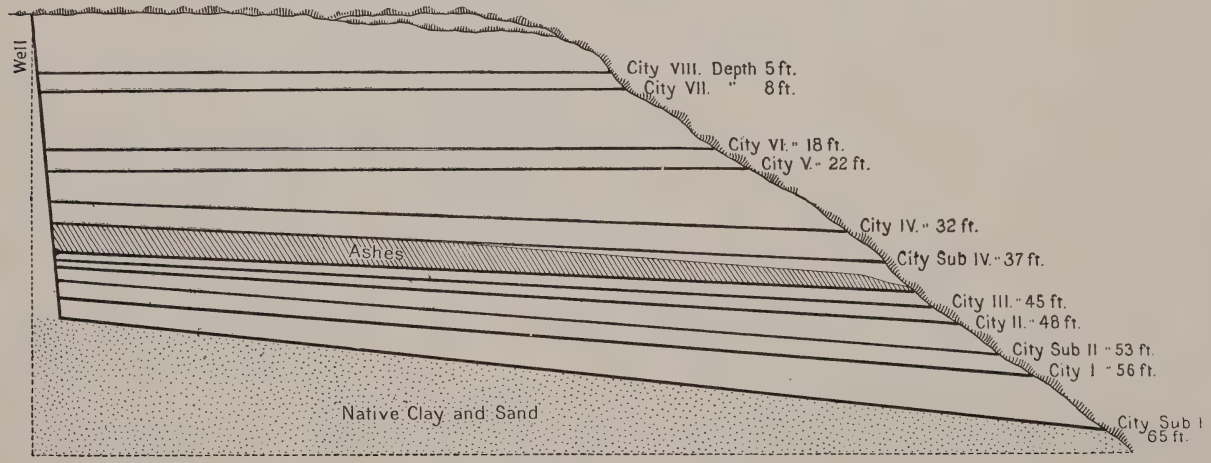
the pier itself, but several voussoirs fallen and resting on a pavement; below this pavement he found another voussoir,—sure proof that the original bridge had been rebuilt at a subsequent period. In my present work here in Jerusalem, I have found a paved street leading to a gate, and across the street was built a house, while at the gate were four door-sills, the lowest buried by the next higher, and so on. Here various periods are indicated. But these cases are sporadic. The different stages are limited to a particular point, and cannot be traced over a large area. In the tells, however, the rise in level is pretty uniform over the whole area, during any given period, so that finally we have a series of superimposed town foundations.

But how to study these mounds? The method of cutting through a mound by a great trench through the center is a very dangerous one. It must be remembered that not only the remains of the houses of the various town foundations, still *in situ*, are mud brick, but the *débris* between the various town bases is of mud brick, and the interiors of the houses are also filled with mud brick. Often the fallen brick appears as undisintegrated as the brick *in situ;* often the bricks *in situ* are so pressed together by the superimposed mass that the identity of separate bricks is lost. A cutting through the heart of a mound may reveal nothing but two great mud precipices. The objects found at different levels may furnish a clew to dates, but it will be found almost hopeless to

determine the number of occupations. Such a cutting is often repented of later, when the excavator, working in a more systematic manner, finds that he has unwittingly destroyed the most valuable architectural traces. Thus Schliemann's first work at the mound of Hissarlik was really destructive of a part of Troy which his further investigations proved, all too late, to have been a most important part.

The only way to study a mound thoroughly is to cut it down in horizontal slices, leave the buildings which have been exhumed in each layer standing until they have been mapped and planned, cut these away, and proceed to examine the layer below in the same way.

This was the method I employed at Tell el-Hesy, a mound eighteen miles northeast of Gaza, which probably represents the ancient Lachish. The way had been prepared in 1890 by Dr. Flinders Petrie, who, in a masterly reconnaissance of only six weeks, proved that the hill consisted of a series of occupations, and determined the limiting dates. The work of nature favored him, for the stream running past the tell had eaten a way into its foundations, thus undermining the surface slope of *débris*, and leaving practically exposed a clear section of the hill. He was able thus to study the hill without any great horizontal cut. Indeed, he did not touch the top. His long study of pottery helped him to recognize the varieties found at the different levels, and led him to a

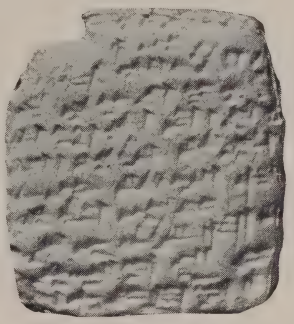

Well
City VIII. Depth 5 ft.
City VII. " 8 ft.
City VI. " 18 ft.
City V. " 22 ft.
City IV. " 32 ft.
Ashes
City Sub IV. " 37 ft.
City III. " 45 ft.
City II. " 48 ft.
City Sub II " 53 ft.
City I " 56 ft.
Native Clay and Sand
City Sub I
65 ft.

Levels of city bases at Tell el-Hesy.

chronology of the place which my more extended work only modified, but did not materially alter.

Naturally, in the short time at his disposal he could recognize only the general limits, and not the exact number of occupations. In 1891 I was sent by the Palestine Exploration Fund to succeed him. Following his valuable advice, I began to cut down the tell, but confined myself to one-third of the area, as this seemed sufficient to determine the stratification, and as to cut down the whole mound would have involved an immense expenditure of time. To make a long story short, —my work was spread over almost two years, from the time I removed the surface bean crop to the time when the original mother earth was laid bare,—I was able to furnish the ground plans of the dwellings of eight mutually excluding occupations, each containing its own objects,—flints, weapons, tools, scarabs, etc.,—quite distinct from the products of the towns above and below, and, by a study of the datable objects, I was able to furnish approximate dates for the different occupations, quite confirmative, as I have just said, of Petrie's brilliant theorizing. We agree in believing that the place was occupied between the seventeenth and fifth centuries B.C. Nor have our dates been seriously questioned, except that Major Conder would bring down the last occupation to the present Christian era. In the various towns, disentangled from this apparently formless

mass of rubbish, I found storehouses, ovens, wine-presses, a public hall, private dwellings, a smelting-furnace, and mighty fortifications. The library, alas! I did not find, though how I came across one booklet from it, in the form of a precious tablet in cuneiform, has been described in full in the columns of The Sunday School Times by Professor Sayce, who has shown its connection with the famous "Tel el-Amarna" correspondence between the courts of the Amenhoteps III and IV and their consuls and allies in Palestine and farther east.



Cuneiform tablet from Tell el-Hesy. (Front.)

Cuneiform tablet from Tell el-Hesy. (Back.)

The work at Tell el-Hesy was chiefly valuable for its lessons of hope. To prove the undisturbed stratification, and to know that each layer contained the objects left there by the inhabitants of that level, was a great point gained. By chance the objects left in Tell el-Hesy were few; by another chance, the objects left in other tells may be many. Nay, perhaps,

in the two-thirds of Tell el-Hesy left standing there may lie the rest of the library of which we found one small example. Scores of tells await the excavator, many of them three times the size of Tell el-Hesy. There is Tell Ta'anuk, plainly the Canaanitish Taanach, a grand mound on the south side of the Plain of Esdraelon. A few miles to the east of it lies the Tell el-Mutesellim, hard by good springs, which no doubt represent the water of Megiddo, so often named in connection with Taanach. I paced with impatience the summits of these tells, and thought of the secrets their hearts must contain. What lay beneath my feet? Any relics of the great world-battles fought at this spot? Any signs of the various civilizations that met at this point,—Hebrew, Egyptian, Babylonian, Syrian? The spade alone can give us the answer, and I believe it will be an emphatic affirmative.

Then there is Gaza; much of it is real tell. There is a large field to the west of the town buildings which has the genuine tell slope, and a cutting near its base has already revealed a splendid mud-brick wall *in situ* with early pottery in connection. This I take to be the old city wall, and doubtless precious remains lie concealed under the barley-field beyond. Excavations here would be especially profitable; for Gaza, even up to the present day, has always been much influenced by Egypt. Egyptian antiquities are always turning up, and, in systematic

digging, such well-dated objects would be of great value in dating the associated local objects.

The Jericho plain, again, furnishes tells of undoubted antiquity. The ideal tell is one whose altitude indicates a long occupation, and whose summit shows no signs of Roman remains. Hence the inference is that the base of such a tell represents the most ancient times. Tell es-Sultan I regard as an ideal tell. The great trenches of Warren here revealed little of interest, and above I have tried to show the reason why. Last spring I spent some time at this tell, and was able to recover some of the oldest, or "Amorite," pottery which we have proved to be pre-Israelite. In the cuttings I was able to recognize mud-brick walls at various levels, which proved to me that here were superimposed cities as at my own tell. Near the base, close by the bubbling fountain, a hole has been recently scooped out, for I know not what purpose, revealing a mud-brick wall. When it is remembered that in all probability Tell es-Sultan is on the site of the ancient Jericho, that this wall had a hundred feet of *débris* on top of it, that this *débris* may be proved by analogy to represent perhaps a dozen later occupations, then shall I be accused of rashness when I confess to the belief that this may be the wall that fell before the eyes of Joshua, the son of Nun?

EXPLORATIONS IN BABYLONIA.

Northwestern façade of the first stage of the temple in Nippur.

EXPLORATIONS IN BABYLONIA

BY PROFESSOR HERMAN V. HILPRECHT, PH.D., D.D.

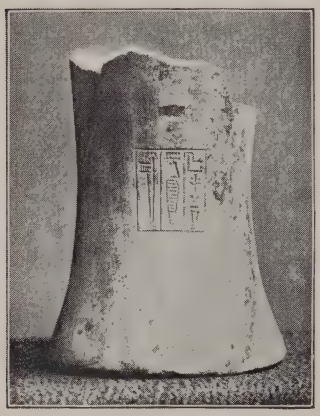
I.

AMERICAN EXCAVATIONS AT NUFFAR.

Within the past half-century the deathlike stillness which long brooded over the scenes of the ancient Assyrian and Babylonian civilization has begun to disappear before the labors of English, French, and German explorers. The movement started in the deep-scarred ruins on the swift-flowing Tigris; and now from the storm-beaten walls of forgotten temples and buried palaces arises a primitive, long-forgotten world. Mighty remains of a highly developed civilization leap forth to the light of day. A unique literature graven in stone and clay establishes the ancient history of western Asia for the first time on a sure foundation, and enables us to write one of the earliest and most important chapters in the history of our race.

The new science of Assyriology sprang into being. Born on the ruins of Nineveh and Khorsabad, and nour-

ished in the quiet studies of European scholars, this youngest daughter of Archeology and Philology has managed to escape the perils which often threatened her growth, and to attain to full development with surprising swiftness. It has absorbed the attention of its devotees as has scarcely another branch of science, and has constantly drawn new and enthusiastic disciples under its growing influence. The privations of the excavator in the wildernesses and marshes of Mesopotamia, and the quiet persistence of the scholar in deciphering the cuneiform documents, have given a fresh impulse to the study of Semitic philology and archeology in the Old World as well as in the New. The future of Assyriology and the importance of its results depend no less on the systematic exploration of, and the acquisition of new material from, the numerous areas now covered by ruins, than upon the scientific sifting of what the earth has yielded us. An American university has therefore placed the scientific world under lasting obligations by undertaking to extricate from the ruins between the Euphrates and the Tigris the slumbering witnesses of a world



Marble vase from Nippur.

that has perished, and to place these at the service of science.

In the summer of 1888, the University of Pennsylvania fully equipped and sent out the first American expedition to the northern half of the plains of Babylonia to effect a thorough exploration of the ruins of Nippur—the modern Niffer, or, more correctly, Nuffar—on the border of the unwholesome swamps of the Affej, and to undertake extensive excavations. A few intelligent citizens of Philadelphia had met in the house of Ex-Provost Dr. William Pepper, and formed "The Babylonian Exploration Fund," a short time before this, with the purpose of effecting a systematic exploration of ancient Babylonia. What science owes to this unselfish undertaking can be adequately estimated only by posterity. At any rate, the striking success of this American expedition is due first of all to the noble disposition and generosity of those who have spent money, time, and labor for years past in the service of this great undertaking.

Two professors, Peters and Hilprecht, were entrusted with the management of the expedition, Dr. Peters as director, and Dr. Hilprecht as Assyriologist. Mr. J. H. Haynes, of Robert College, Constantinople, united in his own person the duties of business manager, commissary, and photographer, and placed at the expedition's service his large experience in the explorations at Assos. Perez

Hastings Field, a New York architect; Professor R. F. Harper, the Assyriologist of the University of Chicago; Daniel Noorian, an Armenian interpreter, who possessed an intimate acquaintance with the country and its people; and a Turkish commissioner,—made up the staff of the expedition. Dr. D. J. Prince, now professor in the University of New York, would have made the eighth, had he not fallen so seriously sick, during the march across the Syrian desert, that he had to be left behind at Bagdad, whence he made his way back to America by way of India and China.

The other participants in the expedition were not spared many dangers and disappointments. Even on the journey from Smyrna to Alexandretta, the large French steamship which carried half the staff of the expedition was wrecked on the rocky promontory Kerketevs, on the island of Samos. Prince Alexander of Samos, vying in hospitality with his predecessor, Polycrates, liberated the distressed travelers, after a day and a half, from their unhappy plight, and brought them safe and sound to his capital Vathy. But hardly had they landed on the marshy haven, at the foot of the Amanus chain, a few weeks later, to begin their journey inland, when there began that series of illnesses and adventures which are never wanting to the larger expeditions, but which are pleasing to those who go through them only when they are things of the past. Not far

from Aleppo our architect was saved from the hands of a highway robber only by the timely arrival of two of his associates. Below Dêr, the well-known horse-market of the Anazeh tribe, while trying to find a watering-place, another member broke through the steep under-washed bank of the Euphrates, and with difficulty escaped drowning.

After following for some thirty days the course of the Euphrates, Bagdad was reached. A fortress founded about 1300 B. C. by King Kurigalzu, in the north of his kingdom, standing a few miles west from Bagdad, and still represented by the imposing ruins of Akarkûf, and the Quai walls of Nebuchadrezzar (B. C. 605-562), were explored. Thence the expedition proceeded past Abu-Habbah to Hillah. Two days' journey southeast from Babylon, a part of it was surprised by an Arab razziah at its frugal meal, and cut off from the caravan, which had gone ahead. Thanks to the speed of their horses, and their own presence of mind, they escaped the treachery and violence of the marauders. The nearer they came to the goal of their journey, the more disturbed the population.

In the vicinity of Nuffar, where the soil is cut up by hundreds of old Babylonian canals, which offered endless difficulties to the advance of a caravan composed of more than a hundred beasts of burden, a crowd of Arabs from Hillah, and over forty Turkish irregulars, the whole

country was inflamed by war. The Bed'ween of the Shammar and Affej tribes were fighting for the pasture-lands, were driving away each other's sheep and camels, and were damming the waters of the canals. On the summit of every clay tower, which rises for its protection in every Arab village of that neighborhood, there fluttered a black rag, and shrilly sounded the warning cries of terrified women and children over the flat and treeless plain.

Clay image of Bel.

The progress along the edge of the marshes was slow enough. Clearer and clearer on the horizon rose the mighty ruins of Nuffar, surmounted by the venerable mound of the collapsed temple of Bel. Amidst the cheerful noise of the caravan, and greeted by the weapon clash and war-cries of Affej warriors, who watched the approach of the strange company from a peak of the weather-torn ruins, they took possession of a long, low hill in the center of vast fields of ruins, and established a temporary camp. It was long before the natives got rid of their distrust, and satisfied themselves that the Americans had no intention of erecting a new military station

Clay image of Bel's consort, Beltis.

out of the bricks of the old walls for the purpose of collecting arrears of taxes.

At the same time, the first campaign of the expedition was, on the whole, a time of disturbance and of agitation. There were days when every one who left the camp

A gang of native workmen.

wore a revolver in his belt. With a handful of trained Arabs from the neighborhood of Babylon the excavators made a beginning. The entire hill and its surroundings, with the visible remains of the city walls Imgur-Marduk and Nimitti-Marduk, were trigonometri-

cally surveyed; trenches and experimental ditches were determined on scientific principles, and driven into the hill; a systematic plan of operations was outlined and discussed, by moonlight or daylight, in all its details. With tact and skill the excited minds of the neighboring tribes were quieted, by enlisting in the service of the expedition members of the most influential branches of the Affej, who numbered about four thousand warriors; and thus new resources were opened to the population of the land. In this way the number of Arabs we had at work gradually increased until it reached four hundred. While some labored in cutting the experimental trenches, and others in collecting the literary documents recovered from the old archives, the work of thoroughly examining the heap of the vast ruins of the temple was pushed on with special vigor. The result was satisfactory in every way, and more than two thousand precious cuneiform documents were secured in the space of a few months.

It was now proposed to bring the campaign to a close. The heat, even on the 8th of March, and in the shade of the tent, rose to 108° (Fahrenheit). The insects, multiplying by reason of the proximity of so much stagnant water, became intolerable, while the scorpions began to creep out of their corners; moreover, the provisions of the expedition began to give out. The working season closed more quickly than was either

wished or expected. One dark night, a well-planned robbery by Arabs, with especial reference to the horses of the expedition, led to a skirmish. The sentinels, who night and day occupied the approach to the camp, happily defeated the attempt. Much powder was expended on both sides, but they intentionally fired over each other's heads, to avoid the severe laws of Arab blood revenge. In spite of this precaution, one of the Arabs was shot through the heart. The blood-money offered was proudly rejected by the hostile tribe, and an old Arab, employed as a go-between, came back from his mission without effecting anything. But the Americans were equally prompt in refusing to give up the "murderer." The days and nights which followed were full of exciting scenes, and the laborers had to be withdrawn from the trenches to the camp, to make their lives safe.

On the morning of Thursday in Easter week, before the sun rose, the whole expedition was in readiness to vacate the hill, and to force their way to Hillah, when, through the treachery of the powerful Affej shaykh Mukoter, an Arab secretly set the camp on fire, and laid the whole of its straw huts in ashes in the space of five minutes. Half the horses perished in the flames, and weapons and furniture, and a considerable sum of money, fell into the hands of the thievish Arabs. But all the antiquities were saved, and the expedition, in

good order, withdrew in two divisions: one on horseback, past Sûk el-Affej and Dîwânîjeh; the other on boats across the swamps to Tagharah, and back to Hillah, where the Weli of Bagdad already had taken steps to come to our assistance with a military force. A few weeks later the cholera broke out in Babylonia, and carried off Mukoter as one of its first victims. During the summer more than fifteen thousand Arabs were carried off by this dreadful scourge.

Thanks to the gracious protection which his majesty the Sultan has always and eminently extended to the Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, and to the lively and cordial interest which Hamdy Bey, the Director-General of the Imperial Museum in Constantinople, has shown in it, the interrupted excavations could be resumed in the fall of the same year, 1889, as soon as cold weather set in, and pressed on with energy and fresh confidence. As a basis of operations had been marked out in the first campaign, there was, of course, less need for the assistance of the Assyriologist in the field than at home, where the sifting of the material, and the preparations for the publication of the cuneiform discoveries, claimed his entire attention. Only the director, the business manager, and the dragoman, returned to Babylonia, while the architect made use of his studies to complete, in Paris, a plan in relief of the body of ruins at Nuffar.

The excitement among the tribes on account of one of their members having been killed by a Turkish soldier came occasionally to an outbreak in murderous attacks. Happily, however, to the members of the expedition, one circumstance proved of priceless value. Among the Affej tribes there was spread very generally the notion that the foreigners, being armed with supernatural power, had, in punishment of the treachery that had been practiced upon them, brought upon the country the cholera, which was not quite extinct even in the year following. Several successful treatments of sickness among the Arabs whom they employed served to sustain this faith in their power. When finally, at the proper moment, some rockets and fire-crackers were set off from the trenches in the ruins before the assembled multitude, and shot their fiery sparks through the air as though they had been scattered by the hand of a spirit, then, at last, there was a period of rest from the secret attacks. Fear of the uncanny powers of *jinns*, or demons, held their minds in bondage. A young Syrian physician from Beyrout, whom the expedition had brought with it this time on account of the cholera, fell ill of typhoid fever soon after its arrival in Nuffar, and had to be sent back, while in a state of delirium, to Bagdad, where he recovered slowly in the course of the winter.

In spite of all, not for a moment was the great purpose

of the expedition lost sight of. The valuable experience which the members of the expedition had acquired the first year, the comprehensive oversight of the central committee in Philadelphia (Mr. E. W. Clark, chairman), and of the director in the field, and the powerful support of the Ottoman government, insured a complete success to the second campaign also. Ever deeper the explorers penetrated into secrets and riddles of the huge mound of ruins. Hundreds of graves, clay coffins, and urns, were opened; and the ruins of demolished habitations and storehouses, together with the contents of their chambers, were explored. In this way thousands of documents, inscribed bricks, vases, and votive tablets, were collected. The active life and motion which once pulsated in the streets of the city, and in the forecourts of its temple, on the palm- and corn- laden banks of the great canal, were unfolded before the eyes of the restless explorers.

The second campaign came to a more peaceful ending than did the first. At its close, both Dr. Peters and the dragoman returned to America, and Mr. Haynes, who had labored with so much skill in Nuffar for the object of the expedition, was unanimously chosen its director to continue the explorations. He went alone to the field of labor, and since that time has exposed himself to the rains of winter and the heat of summer almost continuously. He has had merely the temporary help and company of another American, Joseph A. Meyer, Jr., who

has rendered great service by his excellent drawings of the ruins, and of objects found in them. But Meyer's weakened frame fell a victim, in December, 1894, to the malaria on the border of the marsh, where even before this the Syrian physician and the present writer had absorbed the germs of typhus. In the European cemetery in Bagdad, on the banks of the Tigris, he rests, having fallen a stanch fighter in the cause of science. Even if the sandstorms of the Babylonian plains should efface his solitary grave, what matters it? His bones rest in classic soil, where the cradle of the race once stood, and the history of Assyriology will not omit his name from its pages.

The terraces of the temple of Ekur (that is, "mountain house") rose ever more distinctly out of the rubbish mass which had grown above it through milleniums. The impressive ruins stood about one hundred feet above the level of the surrounding plain, while its foundation lay hidden in the earth's bosom more than a hundred feet below that level. The platform of the first king of Ur, who built here about 2800 B.C., was soon reached. But deeper still sank the shafts of the Americans. "What for ages no king among the kings had seen,"—to speak with King Nabuna'id,—"the old foundation of Narâm-Sin, that saw I." The numerous bricks bearing the name of the great Sargon, who, 3800 B.C., had extended his powerful empire to the shores of the Mediterranean, came forth to the light of day under pickax and shovel.

By this the expedition supplied irrefutable proof of the historical character of this primitive Semitic kingdom, which has often been doubted. The curse of the king, which he had engraved in cuneiform characters in the door-sockets of the entrance, "Whosoever removes this inscribed stone, may Bel, Shamash, and Ninna root him out, and destroy his posterity," had no terrors for the science of the nineteenth century. New trenches were cut. At times the waters of the god Ea, and the Anunaki, the Babylonian spirits of the depths, sprang up, and tried to frighten away the bold explorers; all in vain, however.

Babylonian arch of brick (about 4000 B. C.)

Under the buildings of Sargon and Narâm-Sin one of the largest and most important finds rewarded the labor

that had been expended. An arch of brick, in splendid preservation, and of nearly the same form as is found in the later monuments of the Neo-Assyrian empire, was laid bare, and most carefully photographed. By this the question long discussed by the historians of architecture, as to the antiquity of the arch, entered upon a new stage, and its existence in Babylonia about the end of the fifth and the beginning of the fourth millennium before Christ was proved. But, although the excavations have gone already thirty-five feet below the platform of King Ur-Gur of Ur (about 2800 B.C.), not yet have they reached the deepest foundations of this venerable sanctuary, whose influence for over four thousand years had been felt by all classes of the Babylonian people. But in the presence of this fact we begin to have some notion why Nippur is spoken of as the oldest city of the earth in the old Sumerian legends of the Creation.

Close upon seventy thousand dollars has been spent on the excavations in Nuffar, to say nothing of the loss of life and the endurance of trouble by those who have borne the burden and heat of the day on its fields of ruins. Great sacrifices of time, money, and personal devotion, will be needed to carry the exploration to its end. But what the University of Pennsylvania and its friends have begun, will be finished.

The classification and editing of the numerous and important results of the expedition have been entrusted

by the Committee of Publication (Mr. C. H. Clark, chairman) to Professor Hilprecht, who has planned their publication in four series of from ten to fifteen volumes each. Other Semitic scholars of America have been invited to take part in their publication, and have promised their assistance for the near future. Two volumes, prepared by the editor-in-chief, have appeared already, and three are in the press, while seven others are in preparation, one of them containing the history of the expedition by Dr. Peters and Mr. Haynes. It may be worth while, at this point, to summarize the most noteworthy results.

Over thirty-two thousand cuneiform tablets form the bulk of what has been recovered. Many of these are of the time of the dynasty of King Ur-Gur (about 2800 B. C.), and of the period of the Cassite kings (about 1725 to 1140 B. C.), which hitherto were not represented by dated documents. Of the manifold character of these documents—syllabaries, letters, chronological lists, historical fragments, astronomical and religious texts, inscriptions referring to buildings, votive tablets, dedications, inventories, contracts, etc.—nothing less than an exhaustive examination can give a clear idea. Most of the early rulers of Babylonia, who were known to us only by name, and fourteen of whose very names had been lost, have been restored to history by this expedition. Through the abundance of the recovered texts of the

earliest Semitic rulers, Alusharshid, Sargon I, and Narâm-Sin, comprising hundreds of inscribed bricks, door sockets, marble vases, and clay stamps for bricks, our conception of the power and extent of the Semitic race of about 3800 B. C. had to undergo a radical transformation.

Of especial value are the hundred and fifty fragments of inscribed sacrificial vessels and votive objects belonging to three kings of the oldest dynasties of Ur and Erech hitherto unknown, which promise to cast entirely new light upon the chronology of a difficult period. Besides this, the first publication showed that the Publication Committee of Philadelphia were determined to clear up the entangled questions of Babylonian paleography by treating them on scientific principles.

Those who have studied the explorations of Loftus and Layard know what indescribable pains they have taken to save for the British Museum three clay sarcophagi, even though they crumbled to pieces on contact with the air. Thanks to the patient efforts of Haynes, nine clay sarcophagi have already been excavated at Nuffar, and conveyed in good condition to the Imperial Museum at Constantinople, and twenty-five more stand packed, ready to leave the fields of ruins. Among the great number of seals and seal-cylinders such as the Babylonians employed in business transactions, there are some of every period of their history, and several be-

longed to kings and governors. Two hundred clay bowls, closely inscribed in Aramaic, Hebrew, and Mandean, allow us a welcome glimpse into the wizardry of Babylonia, which exerted considerable influence on the religious teachings of the later, post-biblical literature of the Jews. Thousands of enameled and plain vases of clay of all sorts, playthings, weapons, weights, gold and silver ornaments, objects in stone, bronze, and iron, several very ancient intaglios and bas-reliefs, together with a collection of human skulls, which offer us help

Clay sarcophagus from Nippur.

in the study of the piebald ethnological relations of Babylonia, complete the rich collection of antiquities obtained from the ruins of Nuffar.

With regard to the wealth of its results and the scientific treatment of the documents it has published, this Philadelphia expedition takes equal rank with the best sent out from England or France. The systematic and careful manner of laying bare the vast ruins of buildings, and in exploring and depicting them, with a view to a complete and connected view of the whole, is something without parallel in previous expeditions to Baby-

lonia. And when the University of Pennsylvania has completed her great undertaking in Nuffar, there will belong to her and those who have shared in her expedition the unquestionable credit of having exhaustively examined one of the vastest ruin-heaps of the Mesopotamian plains. To this institution must be given the credit of having excavated the most important sanctuary, and at the same time the earliest terrace temple, of this land of primitive civilization, and of having made intelligible, by earnest research, its construction and its history.

II.

THE FRENCH EXCAVATIONS AT TELLO.

At the fifth International Oriental Congress at Berlin, in 1881, the well-known Assyriologist, Jules Oppert, opened his lecture on the excavations of de Sarzec in Babylonia with the words: "Since the discovery of Nineveh and the exploration of the ruins of Babylon, no discovery has been made which compares in importance to the recent excavations in Chaldea." For the first time, indeed, by these French excavations have inscriptions of considerable length written by kings of that ancient civilized race called Sumerians been brought to light. It is to this race that the principal attainments of the Semitic Babylonians in art, literature, and science, are to be traced.

King Ur-Ninâ of Lagash, surrounded by his sons and pages.

In spite of the difficulties which these stone documents, in general excellently preserved, offer to their decipherers, both from a paleographic and a philological standpoint, the majority of the texts are now intelligible, and capable of being used as historical sources, thanks to the labors of Oppert and to the extraordinary efforts of the late highly endowed savant Amiaud and his successors, especially Jensen of Marburg.

The director of these excavations was, and is still, Mr. de Sarzec. From the moment that, in 1877, he was sent as French vice-consul to Bassorah, on the Persian Gulf, he has spent most of his time and strength, with constant risk to his health, in exploring southern Babylonia. With several interruptions, he has devoted eight campaigns (the last of which he made the subject of a report before the French Academy, October, 1894) to a thorough and successful exploration of the great group of mounds known under the name of Tello. The ruins extend about four English miles, and are situated some three or four days' journey northwest of Bassorah, twelve hours east from the old Warka, on the eastern bank of the canal Shatt el-Hai. They represent a city which is called Shirpurla in the oldest cuneiform inscriptions, and Lagash in the later Babylonian literature.

The first grand results, the excavation of the palace of the priest-king Gudea (about 2900 B.C., or before), the discovery of the invaluable diorite statues so im-

portant to the history of art, the finding of a great number of inscribed door-sockets which stood at the entrance of shrines and temples, the unearthing of thousands of inscribed clay cones and bricks, of bronze figures, metal and earthen vessels, and, above all, of the two great terra-cotta cylinders of Gudea with about two thousand lines of writing each,—all these, as well as the many other antiquities, have been so often described that they can very properly be passed over here, since the results obtained from them by specialists have become the common possession of the cultivated.

Statue of Gudea in diorite, 1.58 meter high (about 2900 B.C.).

In Maspero's well-illustrated work, "The Dawn of Civilization," student and layman alike are provided with a hand-book from a master who has embodied in his

researches the results of these French excavations in Tello,[1] as well as those of the American expedition, so far as they have been published.[2]

The view of Maspero, however, of the age of the earliest kings and priest-kings of Shirpurla, whom, following Winckler of Berlin, he places from three hundred to four hundred years before the rulers of the so-called first[3] dynasty of Ur,—that is, accepting the ordinary chronology of Assyriologists, about 3200 B. C.,—is certainly wrong.

Head of a statue in diorite (about 3000 B. C.).

As Hommel, Heuzey, and I have already previously emphasized, these earliest rulers of Lagash belong to a period before Sargon I and Narâm Sin. Upon a further critical examination of the earliest cuneiform texts from Tello and Nuffar, I have, in another place, given positive proof of the validity of my theory. We shall not

[1] Léon Heuzey's *Découvertes en Chaldée par Ernest de Sarzec*,—not yet finished.

[2] H. V. Hilprecht's *The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, Vol. I, Part 1, and *Assyriaca*.

[3] My own recent investigations upon this point have shown that, about a thousand years before this so-called first dynasty of Ur, there was a still earlier powerful dynasty of Babylonian kings having their origin in Ur. Consequently this earlier dynasty must hereafter be reckoned as the first dynasty. For a more detailed account, see *The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, Vol. I, Part 2 (in press).

go astray, therefore, if we place the approximate age of the earliest of these kings, Urukagina, on the threshold of the fifth and fourth millenniums before Christ, or, in round numbers, 4000 B.C.; in other words, two or three hundred years before Sargon,—whose age is established through the well-known passage in the inscription of Nabonidos, in connection with the discoveries of the University of Pennsylvania and on the basis of paleographic reasons.

The four inscriptions of Urukagina, of which, unfortunately, only two have been published, came from Tello and Abu-Habba. Up to this time they have passed as the most ancient inscriptions of Babylonian kings; but this honor they can no longer lay claim to, because, in the American excavations at Nuffar, older documents have been recently brought to light.

After years of continuous labor, I at last succeeded, during the past summer, in bringing order out of a heap of about four hundred exceedingly small and pretty badly effaced fragments of marble and sandstone vases. Among other things, out of eighty-seven fragments belonging to about sixty different vases, I was able to restore a large royal inscription of one hundred and thirty-two lines, and out of thirty-four other fragments of twenty-odd different vases an inscription of twenty-eight lines. The author of the longer of the two inscriptions lived about the time of Urukagina, while the

author of the other cuneiform text must be surely placed before him, in the fifth millennium before Christ.[1]

The chronological order of the earliest princes of Tello after Urukagina has been definitely settled by Mr. Heuzey, the distinguished curator of the Louvre, to whom science owes so much for his fundamental studies on ancient Babylonian art. As a result of his investigations we are able to establish the following list of rulers for ancient Tello: Ur-Ninâ, Akurgal, Edingiranagin, Enanatuma I, Entemena, Enanatuma II. We know also the names of the father (Nigal-nigin) and grandfather (Gur-Sar) of Ur-Ninâ; but, as they bear no other title, it is scarcely possible that they played any important *rôle* in the history of Lagash.

Judged by his inscriptions, Ur-Ninâ was a peace-loving prince, who founded and cared for numerous temples established within the limits of his extended city, which was grouped around a number of prominent quarters or centers. In addition, he restored and fortified the walls of Lagash. The principal deity of the city worshiped by him and his successors was Ningirsu, or Ninsugir, who in reality is identical with the Assyrian Ninib, the personification of the parching midday sun. His symbol, serving at the same

[1] The detailed proof of this new chronological arrangement, and of all other points in which, in the course of this article, I differ from the view generally accepted by scholars, will be found in *The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, Vol. I, Part 2.

time as the coat of arms of the city in which his religion prospered, is the lion-headed eagle with outspread wings. Occasionally it appears in connection with two lions, which are victoriously clutched in its powerful talons. Little or nothing is known of Akurgal, the son and successor of Ur-Ninâ, because, unfortunately, none of his own inscriptions have so far been found. In all probability he was not the oldest, but one of the younger, of the children of the king.

We are better informed of Edingiranagin. He is one of the mightiest of the very ancient Babylonian rulers. The northern part of the country was subject to him; at all events, he defeated by force of arms its two principal warlike kings, and brought rich booty back to Lagash. Ur and Erech, the two venerable centers of early civilization in the south, he seems to have delivered from the hegemony of the north, at the same time proclaiming himself sovereign ruler. As far as Elam, which appears here for the first time in cuneiform writings, but from this time forth for thousands of years constantly remains the sworn enemy of the border states of Babylonia, threatening their independence and occasionally devastating its fields and plundering its richly endowed temples, Edingiranagin carried his victorious weapons. The powerful and domineering position attained by Lagash under Edingiranagin cannot have been long maintained. The

Semitic hordes, who at that time were pushing southward, and who apparently for a number of years had warred against the border fortifications of Babylonia, gradually established themselves in the north, threatening the independence of the south by occasional invasions and marauding expeditions. The territory, divided as it was into numerous small states, among which now this one, now that one, exercised a passing hegemony over the others, fell an easy prey to the youthful strength and valor of the rushing nomads. The oldest written monuments of Babylonia do not designate these enemies by any single definite names; but the fact that suddenly, and seemingly without any mediation, an extensive Semitic empire, ready made, meets us, with its capital city in north Babylonia, and that we learn of its existence from cuneiform monuments written in the Semitic language, necessarily presupposes previous battles between the invading Semites and the native Sumerians and the defeat of the latter by their stronger enemies. At all events, the royal title seems to be extinguished after Edingiranagin. All succeeding princes bear the title *patesi*, which is usually translated "priest-king." It would be more in accordance with the real facts to call them "prince-priests."

The title characterizes its bearer first of all according to his religious position, as sovereign lord of a temple and chief servant of the god worshiped in it. The fact

that a patesi, in addition, often occupied a position of political power as king or governor (perhaps originally by extending his sphere as a patesi), does not interfere with this view. From an inscription recently found in Tello, but misunderstood by Oppert and Heuzey, we learn that a foreign conqueror, who is already a king, in addition, states himself patesi of Lagash, expressly declaring that Ningirsu himself, the highest god of the city, called him to fill this office. The condition of affairs is here plain. The conqueror seeks to represent to the people and to the priesthood his violent act as having been committed in the service of their god, and carrying out his decision. Therefore he does not call himself king—which he already was—nor patesi, in the sense of our governor, because he cannot designate himself as his own subject, but patesi as the highest official of the god Ningirsu, in the care of his temple and in the administration of that territory over which Ningirsu ruled; in other words, as the legitimate possessor of all the privileges which, up to the time of his conquest, had been connected with this title. If we were therefore to write the history of Lagash, from Enanatuma to Gudea, it would be first of all necessary to investigate how far, in each individual case, the sphere of power of the god Ningirsu extended beyond the limits of his temple or city, in order to determine the relative political independence or dependence

of the patesis of Lagash. The supposition that every one who called himself patesi must have been politically dependent is by no means correct. The use of the title patesi, "official of a god," for "official of an earthly monarch," is the product of a later time.

The recent excavations of de Sarzec brought to light important new documents, even of the period after Edingiranagin, among them a beautiful silver vase with an inscription of Entemena, and they made us, moreover, acquainted with the names of several patesis before unknown; but still the most important discoveries are the following, which relate to the oldest history of Lagash, just treated.

Urukagina, in addition to the four inscriptions previously known, is represented by a new door-socket. The inscription is arranged in two columns around the hole in which the door-pivot moved. But unfortunately the inscribed part is so effaced that only small fractions remain.

The personality of Ur-Ninâ, about whom we knew, until very recently, only through a few badly preserved fragments of limestone slabs, is brought very much nearer to us by the later results of de Sarzec. In the years 1888 and 1889, the French explorer dug up a building, every brick of which bore the inscription, "Ur-Ninâ, king of Lagash, son of Nigal-nigin, has built the house of the god Ningirsu." In doing so he reached the real theater

of Ur-Ninâ's activity, his temple, and found in this building and its immediate vicinity a large number of valuable and, for the greater part, inscribed objects. Heuzey, in his description of the finds,[1] counted not less than three door-sockets, three votive tablets, together with the bronze statuettes belonging to them, the fragment of an onyx vase dedicated to the goddess Ba'u, four lion-heads, two fragments of stone tablets with figures of animals, and, above all, three bas-reliefs in limestone.

These three bas-reliefs, which are partly square, partly oval, are of especial interest to us as monuments of the earliest Babylonian art. They all three represent the same subject more or less executed,—the king Ur-Ninâ surrounded by his children and pages. The largest bas-relief is forty centimeters high, forty-seven centimeters broad, and seventeen centimeters thick, and contains this representation most complete in its details. Like all other reliefs of the same type, and similar in this respect to the two intaglios found in Nippur, it is perforated in the center. Heuzey endeavored to find out the original purpose of this round hole. I do not believe, however, that his present view,[2] according to which it served to hold consecrated objects, such as weapons, especially clubs, in a standing position on the altar, is the correct one. His erroneous result is closely connected with his

[1] *Revue d'Assyriologie*, III, pp. 13 *et seq.*

[2] *Les Armoiries Chaldéennes*, pp. 6 *et seq.*, 11 *et seq.*

interpretation of certain inscriptions found on such tablets, which Professor Oppert misunderstood. More about this will be found in "The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania" (Vol. I, Part 2).

This relief of Ur-Ninâ is divided into two parts, an upper and a lower half; upon both the king figures as the principal person. He stands upon the upper part with a basket, the symbol of the masons, on his head; upon the lower side he is seated, holding a goblet of wine in his hand, while behind him stands his cupbearer carrying the wine-flask from which he poured into the king's goblet. In both cases the king is clothed with a short garment which covers only the lower half of the body, the upper half is entirely naked. In order to express the dignity of the king and of his position according to the ancient idea of both Oriental and classic people, he is represented as a giant, so that in comparison with him his children and servants around him appear like dwarfs. It is characteristic that upon both halves of this, and also upon similar reliefs found in Tello, the inscription begins on the head, and in most cases by the mouth of the king, as though representing words flowing from his mouth, or spoken by him.

To this class of reliefs belongs also a remarkably well-executed monument,[1] which is not made of stone, but consists of an artificial mixture of clay and bitumen,

[1] Published by Heuzey in *Les Armoiries Chaldéennes*, at the end.

afterwards dried in the sun. It is somewhat later than the one just mentioned, but cannot be exactly placed chronologically, as it does not now contain the name of him who presented it to the temple. Evidently the name stood on the upper corner, near the king's head, which is now broken off.

By far the most important and interesting monument which thus far has been found in Tello is the so-called stele of vultures, set up by King Edingiranagin. This monument consists of "close-grained white limestone, rounded at the top, and covered with scenes and inscriptions on both its faces." It received its name from a flock of vultures, which carry away the arms, legs, and decapitated heads of the enemies vanquished by the king in a fierce battle. Unfortunately, it is preserved only in a fragmentary manner, and even the pieces discovered up to this time are effaced partially, so that it is extremely difficult to gain an exact understanding of all its details and to decipher satisfactorily the preserved cuneiform characters. Nevertheless, Heuzey, by means of two new fragments, succeeded in explaining to a cer-

Fragment of the stele of vultures (about 4000 B. C.).

tain extent the figurative representation in the large and magnificent work on the French excavations edited by him. The front side shows—so far as it is preserved—the following four principal scenes, which stand in a logical relation to one another:

1. The king, Edingiranagin, with his infantry, is fighting a bloody battle.

2. At the head of his troops, and mounted on his chariot, he pursues the defeated enemies.

3. In connection with the funeral rites, he celebrates his victory by a sacrifice.

4. He oversees the execution of the captives, and kills with his own hand one of the conquered chiefs.

Among the gifts which were presented to the temple of Ningirsu by foreign kings, who at times acquired a hegemony over Lagash, two inscribed objects deserve especial attention. The one is a vase fragment, which belongs to Alusharshid, king of Kish, who left such a large number of vases in Nippur; and the other is the fragments of a mace-head or scepter-knob, dedicated by another king of northern Babylonia to the chief god of Tello. Still greater importance must be attached to two votive presents given by two other kings of Kish. The one is a scepter-knob in stone, the side of which is adorned with six lions. They are so connected with each other that each one with his fore paws clutches the hind paws of the lion ahead of him, at the same time

burying his teeth in the shoulder of the latter. The top of the knob contains the well-known lion-headed eagle, the coat of arms of the god Ningirsu and his city of Lagash. The inscription itself, which accompanied this present, was misunderstood by Heuzey.

The other consecrated present is a large lance-head made of copper or bronze, and is fourteen centimeters wide and eighty centimeters long. It was fastened to the lance-shaft by means of a handle with five round holes. The name of the king is inscribed on the lower end of the copper or bronze head, and the lance was hung in the temple so that the head pointed downwards, as was correctly pointed out by Heuzey. This is shown by the manner in which the picture of a lion standing upright is engraved on the metal blade. We already knew from the inscriptions of Gudea that it was customary for the rulers to present lances as holy gifts to the temple of Ningirsu. It is also interesting to know that a metal tube, three meters long, has been identified by Heuzey as the ferrule of the end of the shaft of this lance. This metal tube is at present in the museum at Constantinople. At its extreme end, and at the same time terminating the lance, was a knob made of bitumen. The dimensions of the head and of the shaft's ferrule, already cited, enable us to estimate the immense size which these weapons must have had.

Evidently the prevailing belief was that the gods and

demi-gods like Gilgamesh were accoutered with such weapons when they went out to battle.

In spite of the rich discoveries at Tello in the line of artistic and religious objects whose fundamental importance for the earliest history cannot be doubted, it was somewhat puzzling that, so far, no clay tablets of any importance or in large numbers had been brought to light. While the American Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, in Nuffar, laid bare several archives containing over thirty-two thousand cuneiform tablets, the results of the French expedition in Tello, until quite recently, so far as I know, amounted to about several hundred tablets, which belonged mostly to the third millennium B. C. But at last, even in this respect, de Sarzec's work and long years of endurance were crowned with an extraordinary success. About two hundred meters distant from the hill where he uncovered the buildings of the old princes of Lagash, in a small hill he came upon a right-angled gallery constructed of unburnt bricks, which concealed, according to his own estimate, about thirty thousand baked clay tablets covered with cuneiform writing, and arranged in layers, one above another. About five thousand of these are in a perfect state of preservation, although most of the tablets were, naturally, broken. Their contents, so far as they have been examined, embrace mostly contracts, inventories, and lists of sacrifices, from the third and fourth millenniums B. C.

A systematic publication and examination of this great library, in spite of the narrow field which it embraces, will bring to view many important details concerning the language itself and the business life in the temple and the city. Even the enormous size of some of these documents, which reach a length of forty centimeters, is in itself remarkable. As there are in the collection, also, statuettes, clay cylinders, and large inscribed pebbles, the building uncovered by de Sarzec may be regarded as a regular literary storehouse or temple archive. It would take us too far to enter upon a discussion in detail of all the discoveries of the latest campaign. An extraordinarily large number of fragments of vases and sculptures, and among them a few complete and well-preserved statues, also two bull's heads in copper, inlaid with mother-of-pearl and lapis-lazuli, belong to the most prominent acquisitions of this recent collection.

Unfortunately, the field of ruins, owing to the temporary absence of de Sarzec, seems to have been plundered by the thievish Arabs from the neighborhood of Tello. For, at present, a large number of baked clay tablets are in the possession of dealers in England, France, and America. Already about two thousand of them have been offered for sale to me. After a brief examination of their contents I could easily determine that they all come from Tello.

This enormous mound, or, rather, series of mounds,

has already yielded important treasures to the indefatigable French excavator; but, without doubt, it conceals still other monuments and clay tablets of fundamental importance. May Mr. de Sarzec be permitted by Providence to explore systematically this entire field of ruins, and to make his far-reaching results accessible to scholars of the whole world through Mr. Heuzey's excellent publication!

III.

TURKISH EFFORTS IN BABYLONIAN ARCHEOLOGY.

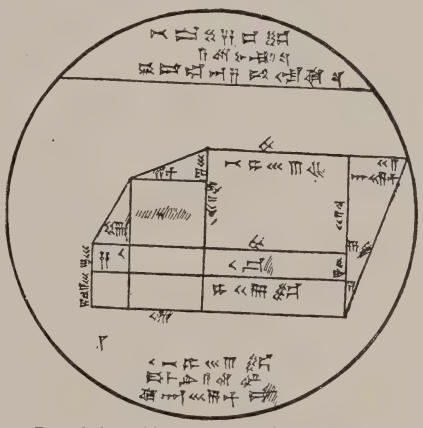
During the years 1888-1893, the systematic excavations of Babylonian ruins were exclusively associated with the names of de Sarzec and of the University of Pennsylvania. But in the course of the year 1893, another expedition was born in the Orient itself. The epoch-making results of the French and American explorers had attracted not only the attention of Assyriologists and archeologists, but had aroused the personal interest of the present sultan, Abdul-Hamid.

Under his protectorate, the Imperial Ottoman Museum in Constantinople had already been re-established, and placed on an entirely scientific basis by its worthy director-general, Hamdy Bey, supported in his efforts by his energetic and equally well-equipped brother, Halil Bey. The famous sarcophagi from Sidon were scarcely safely deposited in the new kiosk especially erected for their

permanent exhibition, when the Sultan placed another sum of money out of his private purse at the disposal of his rapidly growing archeological museum, in order that the ruins of Abu-Habba or Sippara, in northern Babylonia, partly excavated by Rassam, might be subjected to a fresh examination. The carrying out of this scientific project was entrusted to the French Dominican Father Scheil, who has distinguished himself as an Assyriologist, and to the Turkish Commissioner Bedry Bey, who had gained a rich experience in connection with the excavations of Pergamon, Tello, Nuffar, and of other ancient ruins in the Ottoman Empire. At the same time the present writer was appointed to complete the organization of the Babylonian section of the Imperial Museum, begun by Father Scheil, and to prepare a catalog of the Babylonian and Assyrian collections in connection with it.

In the beginning of the year 1894, the first Turkish expedition to Babylonia reached the place of its destination. The ruins of Abu-Habba are most favorably situated for excavation, about halfway between Bagdad and Hillah, and extend in the form of a rectangle, whose longest side is about one and a half kilometers. They are not far distant from the Euphrates, lying on its eastern side. Within a few months the two commissioned men, strongly supported by the government officials of the wilayet of Bagdad, were able to execute their task satisfactorily.

According to the notes which Scheil published in various numbers of the French journal edited by Professor Maspero, the excavations have produced the following results: a number of clay vases, among which are several in the form of animals; small clay statues of idols, bronze objects, seal cylinders, and weights,—such objects as are generally found in all Babylonian ruins,—besides a few bricks of King Bur-Sin II, Kurigalzu, and Shamash-shumukîn, and about five hundred clay tablets, complete or fragmentary. So far as their contents are concerned, most of the tablets are letters and contracts dated in the reign of King Samsu-ilûna (about 2210 B.C.), the son and successor of Hammurabi, a ruler of the so-called first Babylonian dynasty, whose Arabian origin only recently has been convincingly proved by Professor Hommel of Munich. The majority of the texts of this period, up to this time, were to be found only in the British Museum in London, and in the museum of the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia. In addition to letters and con-



Round clay tablet containing plan of an estate.

tracts, the collection excavated at Abu-Habba contained some fragments of syllabaries and lists of cuneiform signs, and several incantations and hymns. Only a small fragment of a tablet is of historical interest, as it reveals the name of a new ruler of Sumer and Akkad, Idîn-Dagân ("The God Dagan judges"). Apparently this ruler belongs to the second dynasty of Ur (about 2500 B. C.), which hitherto was known only through Gungunu, Gimil (or Kât)-Sin, Bur-Sin II, and the most important member of this whole dynasty, Ine-Sin, recently introduced into history again by myself.

Unfortunately, most of the letters discovered contain, according to Scheil, only accounts. But, nevertheless, there are many among them which bring before our eyes scenes from the daily lives of the ancient Babylonians in such a realistic manner that we may believe that the times have changed but little during the past four thousand years. For example, an official, stationed in a small town, Dûr-Sin, complains, on a clay tablet, to his father, that it is impossible to procure anything fit to eat in the village, and begs him, therefore, to buy with the accompanying piece of money some food, and send it to him.

But let the writer of this letter speak for himself: "To my father from Zimri-eramma. May the gods Shamash and Marduk keep thee alive forever. May all go well with thee. I send thee [this letter] that I may inquire after thy health. Please let me know how it goes with

thee. I am stationed in Dûr-Sin, on the canal Bîtim-sikirim. Where I live there is no food which I am able to eat. Here is the third part of a shekel of silver, which I have sealed up, and send unto thee. Send me for this money fresh fish and other food to eat."

Another letter, addressed to a female by the name of Bibeya, reads as follows: "To Bibeya from Gimil-Marduk. May Shamash and Marduk allow thee, for my sake, to live forever. I write this in order to inquire after thy health. Let me know how it goes with thee. I am now settled in Babylon, and, because I have not seen thee, I am in great anxiety. Send [me] news when thou wilt come, that I may rejoice at it. At the month of Arakhsamna [November-December] come. Mayest thou, for my sake, live forever."

It is clear that this letter is not written to a mother, sister, daughter, or any other relative, because, according to the custom of the Babylonian writers, relationship is generally indicated by a word placed in apposition after the name of the person to whom the letter is addressed. Therefore we can scarcely be wrong in regarding this tablet as a specimen of an ancient Babylonian love-letter of the time of Abraham.

Finally there may be mentioned a small round tablet of the same period, and from the same ruins, which contains, in the Babylonian style, a parallel passage to Daniel 12 : 3: "They that be wise shall shine as the

brightness of the firmament." This tablet contains but three lines, in the ancient sacred Sumerian language of that country:

1. *Sha*[1] *muntila*
2. *ki-namdupsara-ka*
3. *laga-gim gena-e*

That is, "Whosoever has distinguished himself at the place of tablet-writing [that is, at the school or university of the Babylonians] shall [literally, "may"] shine as the light."

In still another manner the reorganization of the Imperial Museum in Constantinople became of great significance to scholars. In accordance with the recommendations of Hamdy Bey, the government issued orders to the numerous officials of the provinces in Asia Minor and Mesopotamia to guard carefully all antiquities that may exist, to report to the Ministry of Public Instruction all new discoveries, and, when required, to transport them safely to Constantinople. In consequence of the energetic carrying out of this decree, nearly all branches of archeology have been enriched by valuable additions. Among the Babylono-Assyrian antiquities which in this way have come to the knowledge of Assyriologists during the last few years, and which are now safely housed in the Museum on the Bosphorus three deserve special mention.

[1] Semitism for Sumerian *galu*.

Of fundamental value for our knowledge of the early history of art in Mesopotamia, and of the extent of the earliest Semitic dominion, is the fragment of a bas-relief in basalt, with the remains of four columns in Old Babylonian cuneiform characters. In the first column are still preserved portions of the name of King Narâm-Sin ("Beloved of the Moon God"), the son and successor of Sargon I. He caused the monument to be erected about 3750 B. C. upon a terrace near Diarbekir, on the Upper Tigris; for from this town came the first news of the relief to Constantinople, and, according to the information obtained by me from Halil Bey, sub-director of the Museum in Constantinople, this monument was really found in the neighborhood of

Bas-relief of the time of King Narâm-Sin (3750 B. C.).

that city in 1892. Pater Scheil, who was in Constantinople at that time, published text and relief for the first time in the French journal referred to above.[1] Unfortunately this publication is deficient in various respects, as various characters were not recognized at all, or were incorrectly read. I have therefore published a new and critical edition of the relief and its inscription in "The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania" (Vol. I, Part 2), and have at the same time had a new photograph of the relief prepared for these pages. The place where the monument was found confirms the correctness of my attempted reconstruction of the oldest Semitic domain, of which I maintained, on the basis of other facts, that it extended in the north to the natural boundary formed by the Armenian mountains. Although the monument is broken, and the preserved fragment defaced, yet it shows us that the artisans of that very ancient time were skilful in using hammer and chisel on the hardest materials. We are faced with the strange but undeniable fact, which we also find in studying the oldest stone vases and seal cylinders, that Babylonian art, 4000 B.C., shows a knowledge of human forms, an observation of the laws of art, and a neatness and fineness of execution, far beyond the products of later times. The flower of Babylonian art, indeed, is found at the begin-

[1] "*Recueil de Travaux Relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie Égyptiennes et Assyriennes.*" (Edited by Maspero. Vol. XV, pp. 62 ff.)

ning of Babylonian history. In the succeeding milleniums we find here and there a renaissance, but on the whole the art of this entire period disports itself in the grotesque and exaggerated; it is only the degenerated epigone of a brilliant but bygone time.

Another interesting discovery, important for the Neo-Assyrian period, was made in the beginning of 1894 at Tell-Abta, a mound situated about sixteen miles south-east of Mosul. It is a beautifully preserved alabaster stele belonging to the chief of the palace, Bêl-Harrân-bêl-usur (O Bel of Harran, protect the master), who, according to the so-called Canon of Eponyms, occupied twice (741 and 727 B. C.) the highest position of state next to King Tiglath-Pileser III (the Pul of the Old Testament, 745-727 B. C.). As Bêl-Harrân-bêl-usur in his inscription of thirty lines, expresses himself very independently for an Assyrian official, the stele was probably erected by him in 727, between the death of Tiglath-Pileser and the accession to the throne of Shalmaneser IV (727-722 B. C.); that is, during the short interval when it was easy for him to behave like a ruler.[1] The founding of a new town, named after him, Dûr-Bêl-Harrân-bêl-usur, gave occasion for it. He founded this new city in obedience to an oracle of the gods, and, having adorned it with a richly endowed temple,

[1] So Scheil, correctly, in *Recueil*, Vol. XVI, p. 176 *et seq.*, where he published this inscription.

he caused his likeness, carved in stone, and inscribed with a brief history of his deeds, to be set up in it as a memorial. Before the statue of this dignitary are placed several symbols of the gods mentioned in the inscription, and arranged in the same order. We are thus enabled definitely to determine the symbols of Marduk and Nebo, which occur very often in Babylono-Assyrian works of art. The mound Tell-Abta, in which the stele was found, probably contains the remains of the old Dûr-Bêl-Harrân-bêl-usur.

Of still greater importance to Assyrian history of the sixth century B.C., is the stele of Nabonidos recently discovered at Mujellibeh, near Hillah; that is, in the old city boundary of Babylon. It is of basalt, and, unfortunately, one half is broken off. Arabs, who utilized the old walls of Nebuchadrezzar and his successors along the Euphrates as quarries for new buildings, found this stele accidentally while at work in the ruins. The now mutilated cuneiform inscription consisted originally of eleven long columns, of which the lower part has been preserved. Nabonidos has left a number of inscriptions, but most of them refer almost entirely to his excavating and restoring very ancient temples and reviving their rites. In this instance, however, contrary to his usual habit, he interweaves a number of important historical events and chronological data in what he has to tell us of his temples. The stele is therefore a valuable source for the

reconstruction of the later Babylonian and Assyrian history of the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. Among other things, the king describes briefly the destruction of Babylon by Sanherib in the year 689 B.C., the murder of this king by his own son (comp. 2 Kings 19 : 37), and the destructive invasion of the hordes of the Manda in Assyria under their king,[1] whose name is not mentioned, and who therefore cannot be identified with Tukdammê, "king of the hordes of the Manda," called by Assurbanapal (668-626 B.C.) "limb of Satan," and with Lygdamis, mentioned by Strabo (Sayce). Nabonidos's allusion to Babylonian conditions under King Erba-Marduk, and his interesting characterization of his own immediate predecessors on the throne, are not less valuable for history, but can be only briefly hinted at here.

The short description of these three monuments sent, during recent years, by the Turkish officials, to Constantinople from Assyria and Babylonia, is sufficient to show the importance of the above-mentioned government decree for Assyriology. But I cannot close my review without mentioning another even more recent attempt of the Ottoman government to preserve the antiquities

[1] Scheil, who published this stele in a recent number of *Recueil*, read the name of this king wrongly out of the cuneiform text by connecting the verbal form *iriba* with the noun *tuktê*, while Sayce regarded *Tuktê* alone as the royal name. But the determinative for man is wanting. The historical connection of the second column seems quite clear. Compare, however, Sayce's note in *The Academy* of December 7, 1895, p. 188 *et seq.*

of Mesopotamia for science. As Egyptian monuments have suffered through the vandalism of the native population, since the dealing in antiquities became such a profitable branch of commerce, so also the antiquities hidden in the Babylonian soil for thousands of years have repeatedly been damaged by the Arabs who searched the mounds for treasures. On the one hand, indeed, it cannot be denied that a large number of the most important literary discoveries in Mesopotamia were made accidentally by these searching Arabs. On the other hand, however, it must be acknowledged that, for the very reason that the place of origin of most of the relics which are for sale is unknown or intentionally concealed; that valuable objects which were found intact have been purposely broken into pieces and sold to different persons to secure a higher price; that large remains of buildings and other objects which cannot be transported are rudely demolished and forever removed from the reach of students; above all, that, as has of late occurred repeatedly, mounds of ruins which were occupied by English, French, and American expeditions were partially excavated and plundered during the temporary absence of their staffs,—great injury to Assyriology has arisen, to say nothing of the fact that, for years, in many places of the Orient,—as Kerbela, Bagdad, Mosul, Dêr, and Aleppo,—Babylonian antiquities have been imitated, and offered for sale as

genuine. With reference to this growing nuisance, the present writer received from Hamdy Bey, in 1894, the commission to report to the Ottoman Minister of Public Instruction, and to make proposals as to the best manner of protecting the Babylonian relics and mounds. The desired report was soon made. Still, in the same year, I have been informed, a permanent commissioner was appointed, who is to live in Babylonia. His duty consists in stopping the clandestine business of the dealers, and in visiting, from time to time, the various ruins. Valuable as these precautionary measures of the Turkish government are, nevertheless our principal security for the preservation of these remains, in distant lands, of an ancient civilization, must consist in an enlarged public interest in Babylonian and Assyrian history, and in sending out new expeditions which will systematically explore and excavate the hundreds of ruins, and remove as quickly as possible the works of art and the literary monuments from the dangerous alluvial soil and the destructive influences of storm and rain.

Door-socket of Sargon I (from Nippur).

RESEARCH IN EGYPT.

Great Pyramid of Gizeh and the Sphinx.

RESEARCH IN EGYPT.

BY PROFESSOR A. H. SAYCE, D.D., LL.D., D.C.L.

Nowhere have excavation and discovery been more active during the last half-century than in the ancient land of the Pharaohs. The vast halls of the museum of Cairo have been filled to overflowing with the treasures of the past. Europe and America have sent out explorers to survey and excavate, and the Egyptian government has annually devoted large sums of money to the excavation and preservation of the monuments of antiquity. Temples long since buried in the sand have been brought to light; the tombs wherein the Egyptians once buried their dead have been ransacked, and the work of exploration begun by Mariette has been ably carried on by Maspero and de Morgan.

I.

AGE OF EGYPTIAN CIVILIZATION.

The valley of the Nile is a veritable treasure-house of archeology. In Upper Egypt, where rain and frost are practically unknown, nothing perishes except by the hand of man. The sand covers the monuments of the past, and seals them, as it were, hermetically. And these

monuments are almost innumerable. The Egyptians not only built for eternity, they also buried for eternity. Every effort was made to preserve forever from decay both the body of the dead man and the objects that were buried with him. Moreover, the history of Egypt carries us back to an earlier period than the history of any other people, even Babylonia as it now seems, because in the damper climate of Babylonia the oldest records of its culture are less likely to have been preserved. In Egypt, the whole life of the Pharaohs and their subjects is displayed monumentally before our eyes, at a time when, elsewhere throughout the world, there was the thick darkness of barbarism. From the first, too, the Egyptians were a reading and a writing people; their culture was essentially literary, and the scribe occupied among them an honored place.

Egyptologists have divided the history of Egypt into three great periods, known as the Old Empire, the Middle Empire, and the New Empire. The Old Empire comprises the first six dynasties, the Middle Empire reached its climax under the twelfth and thirteenth dynasties, the New Empire followed the expulsion of the Hyksos foreigners who had held Lower Egypt for more than five hundred years, and it consisted of the eighteenth and following dynasties. Egyptian chronology has still to be reckoned by dynasties rather than by years. Professor Mahler, by the help of astronomy, seems lately to have

fixed the dates of Thothmes III, the great conqueror of the eighteenth dynasty, and Rameses II, the famous monarch of the nineteenth, the former reigning from March 20, 1503 B. C., to February 14, 1449 B. C., and the latter from 1347 to 1281 B. C.; but for an earlier epoch all exact dating is impossible. All we know is, that Egyptian history and civilization are immensely old, and that probably a longer period had elapsed between Menes, the first king of united Egypt, and Rameses II, than has elapsed between Rameses II and our own day.

No dated monuments of the time of Menes and his successors of the first dynasty have as yet been discovered, though many Egyptologists believe that the Sphinx of Gizeh was carved out of the rock before he became king. At present the monumental history of Egypt begins with the second dynasty. The tomb of a priest of two monarchs of this dynasty has been found at Saqqârah, the ancient necropolis of Memphis, part of which is in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, while the other part is in the Museum of Cairo. Two kings of the third dynasty have left their names on the rocks of the Sinaitic Peninsula, where they kept the Bed'ween in check, and worked the mines of copper and malachite. But it is with the fourth dynasty that our full knowledge of ancient Egyptian civilization really begins. This was the age of the great pyramids of Gizeh and of the rock-

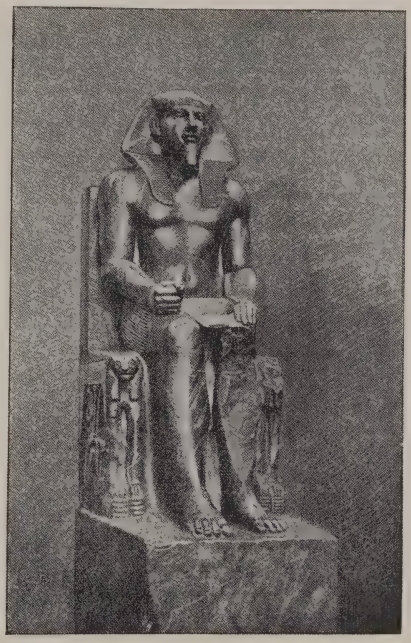
Cartouche of Menes.

cut tombs that lay at their feet. From these and from the third-dynasty tombs of Medum have come some of the finest examples of early Egyptian art that have as yet been discovered.

The culture and civilization of the fourth dynasty continued to progress throughout the age of the fifth and sixth, and monuments of the sixth dynasty are found from one end of Egypt to the other. Then came a period of disaster and decline. The dynasties which followed were for the most part short-lived and feeble. Their monuments are scanty, and when Egypt once more emerges into the light of history under the eleventh dynasty, we find it divided among a number of great feudal lords who treated the nominal authority of the Pharaoh with slight respect. The sort of patriarchal government exercised by the Old Empire had been replaced by feudalism.

One of the most interesting discoveries made of late in Egypt was in a tomb at Meir, which belonged to an official who lived in the reign of Pepi II of the sixth dynasty. Meir lies on the edge of the desert to the northwest of Assiut. From the tomb has come not only a large painted figure of its occupant, but also a collection of small wooden figures representing the trades and professions of the time. They are all painted, and the modeling is so lifelike and excellent that they are quite equal to anything of the kind which is made to-day in

India. One of the figures represents a porter who is carrying a large bale of linen on his back, and a trunk of the most modern description, with a handle, on one of his arms. Another is that of a sweetmeat seller who squats in front of his basket of sweetmeats, keeping the flies away from it with a whisk. It is difficult to believe that the models are of the enormous age to which we know that they belong; they look, indeed, as if they were molded only yesterday.



Statue of Khephren, in diorite.

But this is one of the most striking characteristics of the monuments of the Old Empire, to see which it is necessary to go to Cairo. Their freshness and modernness are almost startling. In fact, the art of the Old Empire is in many respects superior to that of Egypt at any later period of her history. The combination of realism and idealism which it displays is difficult to match,

even in the art of Greece; and the hardness of the materials in which the artist worked may well excite our astonishment. One of the most exquisite of existing statues, that of Khephren, the builder of the second pyramid of Gizeh, is carved out of a stone so hard as to blunt the sharpest of modern tools. Indeed, Professor Flinders Petrie has shown that some of the blocks used in the construction of the great pyramid at Gizeh were cut by means of tubular drills fitted, if not with diamond points, at all events with a similar material. The invention was rediscovered in our own day when the Mont Cénis tunnel was half completed.

The earliest culture and civilization of Egypt to which the monuments bear witness was in fact already perfect. It comes before us fully grown. The organization of the country was complete, the arts were known and practiced, and life, at all events for the rich, was not only comfortable, but luxurious. Egyptian civilization, so far as we know at present, has no beginning; the farther back we go, the more perfect and developed we find it to have been.

Now this is a fact which is very remarkable. The oldest monuments testify to a civilization already long established and highly advanced; and yet Upper Egypt is a country where, as has been said, nothing perishes except by the hand of man. How is it, then, that no traces have been discovered of the steps which led up to

the marvelous civilization of the Old Empire? How is it that we nowhere find any evidences even of the primitive pictures out of which the elaborate hieroglyphic system of writing may have grown? Now and then, it is true, objects have been met with which indicate a certain degree of barbarism, but they belong to periods subsequent to that of the Old Empire. Sometimes they exhibit that decline of art which marks national disaster, sometimes they are products of the barbarous races who, from time to time, overran the valley of the Nile. Though we find flint implements and flakes, they are usually associated with the pottery and other remains of the Roman period. The men who were the contemporaries of Khephren and Kheops were already well acquainted with the use of metal.

We cannot emphasize the fact too strongly that Egyptian civilization is at the very outset full grown. So far as the monumental testimony is concerned, it has neither childhood nor youth. Every fresh discovery brings out the fact into clearer relief. Only a year ago Mr. de Morgan discovered a fully developed lotiform column in a tomb of the fifth dynasty at Abusir, thus proving that an architectural device, which had hitherto been supposed to have been an invention of the eighteenth dynasty, really went back to the age of the Old Empire. The discovery is but an illustration of what other discoveries have already taught us. The monumental history of

Egypt gives no countenance to the fashionable theories of to-day which derive civilized man, by a slow process of evolution, out of a brute-like ancestor. On the contrary, its testimony points in an opposite direction: the history of Egypt, so far as excavation has made it known to us, is a history, not of evolution and progress, but of retrogression and decay.

II.

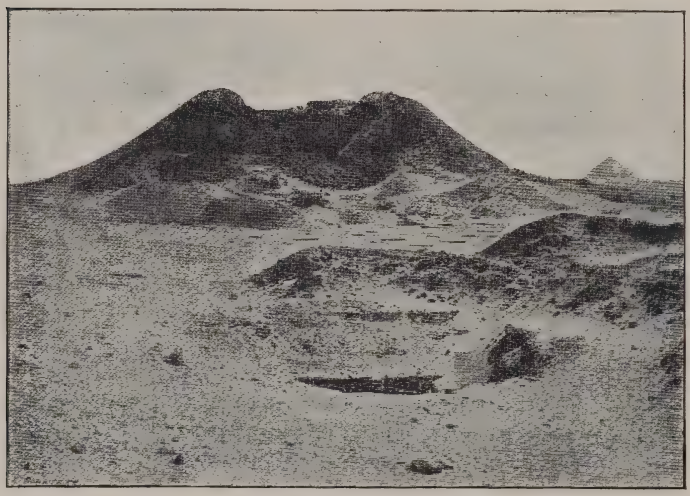
EXCAVATIONS AT DAHSHUR.

All travelers in Egypt are well acquainted with the little village of Bedreshêr, some fifteen miles above Cairo. It is a typical Egyptian village, with its brown mud-huts and picturesque pigeon-towers buried in a thick grove of lofty palms. But its fame rests not on its own merits, but on the fact that it is the usual starting-place for the mounds of Memphis, and the tombs of its necropolis at Saqqârah. A little to the west of it are the scanty remains of the great temple of Ptah, whom the Greeks called Hephæstos, which was visited by Herodotus, and stood in the center of the ancient capital of Egypt. The sacred lake still exists, over which the bark of the god was once ferried on days of festival; and excavations made two years ago have brought to light the foundations of some of the chambers which once rose at the edge of the lake. But the chief monuments of the temple are still what they were in the days of the Greek

traveler Herodotus, two colossi of granite, which originally stood in front of it. The largest has long been known, and many years ago it was presented to the British government by Mohammed Ali. The British government, however, allowed it to remain prostrate on its face, covered each year with the mud and water of the inundation, and exposed to whatever injury the villagers might inflict. It is only since the English occupation of Egypt that the statue has been raised from its lowly position, and a shed built round it for protection. Its face has been found to be practically uninjured, and a very fine image of Rameses II, the Pharaoh of the Oppression, it turns out to be. Major Bagnold, who raised it from the ground, discovered at the same time its companion statue. This also is a granite image of Rameses II, but of smaller size than the other. Its workmanship, however, is excellent, and it is in a good state of preservation.

The tourist, who is hurrying on to the wonders of Saqqârah, seldom has either the time or the inclination to see anything more of ancient Memphis than the sacred lake and the site of the great temple. But were he to ride to the northern end of the mounds, he would find a portion of the old wall of the city still standing intact. Like all the other city walls of ancient Egypt, it is thick and lofty, built of courses of crude brick, which are bonded here and there with the stems of palms. At

the southern end of the mounds there is also something to see. Here were the kilns in which the dark-blue pottery was made which characterizes the later days of the Roman domination in Egypt. We can still trace



Ruins of northern pyramid of Dahshur, built of bricks.

the kilns, and pick up the broken or ill-made vases which were thrown away by their makers.

To-day, however, we will leave the kilns to our left, and ride through the fields of wheat and clover towards the south. Our road will eventually lead us to the desert, not far from the village of Dahshur. Here, on the desert-plateau, stands a group of pyramids, partly of stone, partly of brick. During the year 1894, Mr. de Morgan lived on the spot, and superintended the

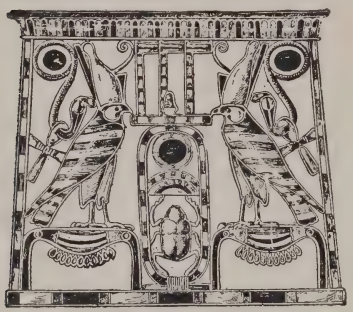
extensive excavations he had undertaken there. He has discovered a vast necropolis of the twelfth and thirteenth dynasties which clustered round the pyramid tomb of one of the most famous monarchs of the twelfth dynasty. This was Usertesen III. The granite sarcophagus of the king has just been found in the innermost chamber of the pyramid. But it was robbed of all its treasures long ages ago, and not even a scrap of writing now remains to tell us to whom it belonged.

This was made clear by the discoveries of last spring. On the northern side of the pyramid Mr. de Morgan discovered two long corridors, cut one above the other through the rock at a considerable distance below the surface of the ground. Here and there, to the north, the corridors give access to small chambers which were occupied by large sarcophagi of stone. The chambers had been plundered centuries ago, but the inscriptions upon their walls showed that they were the last resting-places of the princesses of the royal house of Usertesen and Amen-em-hat.

Then came one of those discoveries which have made Egypt so famous archeologically. When the earth and dust were cleared away from the stone floor of the corridors, Mr. de Morgan noticed two places in which there were natural cavities in the rock. On removing the earth which filled them, he brought to light two marvelous treasures of early Egyptian jewelry. It had be-

longed to the princesses whose sarcophagi had already been discovered; but, instead of being buried with their mummies, it had been hidden, for the sake of security, in the hollowed rock of the floor. The secret was known only to those who had placed it there, and to the *ka*, or "double" of the dead, and so it escaped the notice of the robbers who afterward came to spoil the tomb.

The jewels are of exquisite workmanship. They are made of gold, sometimes inlaid with a mosaic of precious stones, which it is difficult to distinguish from enamel, so beautifully is it wrought. Many of the beads are in the form of large sea-shells of solid gold. On one of the pectorals the king is represented in inlaid work, striking down an Asiatic enemy; on another we have a picture of hawk-headed lions trampling on the foe. The work is equal to the best that could be produced by a modern goldsmith; indeed, the modern goldsmith would do well to take a lesson from it. When we compare these jewels of the twelfth dynasty with those of Queen Ahhotep of the seventeenth, discovered by Mariette, we see at once that, excellent as is the workmanship of the latter, it is nevertheless inferior to that of the newly found jew-



Pectoral of King Usertesen II.

elry of Dahshur. The intervening centuries had brought with them, not progress, but retrogression. The lesson taught us by this latest discovery of the relics of ancient Egyptian art is thus the same as that which previous discoveries had already impressed upon us. In ancient Egypt the earlier culture and art were also the higher; as time went on, there was advance in knowledge, in trade, and perhaps in mechanical science, but there was retrogression in the finer elements of culture. As the Old Empire had been in these respects superior to the Middle Empire, so too the Middle Empire was superior to the New.

Other relics of the twelfth dynasty brought to light during 1894 have further emphasized this fact. A tomb at Assiut has yielded up the models of two battalions in the army of the Usertesens and Amen-em-hats, which are perfectly lifelike in their realism. One of the battalions consists of Egyptian soldiers armed with weapons of metal; the other, of blacks from the Soudan, clad in their own special fashion, and furnished with bows and flint-tipped arrows. The battalions march four abreast, and that the figures are molded from the life is evident from their unequal heights, as well as from the diversity of their features. The figures are of wood, painted with colors which might have been laid on yesterday, so bright and fresh do they seem.

Equally artistic is the model of a dahabiyeh of the

twelfth dynasty, which was also found during the same summer. In its general character it resembles what is still the pleasure-boat of the Nile. One half of it, towards the stern, is already occupied by the dwelling-house of the owner, which consists of a large saloon supported on a column of wood, with sleeping-apartments behind. The arrangement is still that of the modern dahabiyeh, as are also the position of the mainmast and the handle of the rudder, as well as of the upper deck. The doors of the rooms are startlingly modern, and the model is so complete that even the occupants of the saloon are represented in it.

It is difficult to look at this ancient model and realize how old it is. The world seems to have almost stood still since the days of the twelfth dynasty,—at all events so far as comfortable traveling on the Nile is concerned. And yet the age of the twelfth dynasty reaches back to a period when Abraham was not as yet born. When Abraham entered Egypt, not only were the pyramids already the monuments of a venerable antiquity, but the dahabiyeh we have been describing and the wooden battalions of Usertesen were already hidden under the ground. Those who had made them were dead, and the art which they represent was already on the decline. When last they saw the light of day, the great ancestor of the Hebrew race had not yet left his ancestral home.

It is good to realize this fact, as it embodies one of the

lessons which a study of Egyptian antiquity has to teach us. The age of the Hebrew patriarchs is, after all, one which, as it were, lies exposed to the full glare of history. It is not prehistoric, it does not even belong to the dawn of civilization. On the contrary, the civilization of the East was already old when the patriarchs lived and moved in the midst of it. It was an age whose monuments are rising up on every side of us, and speaking to us in tones which have a very modern ring. We possess an abundance of contemporaneous records which enable us to test the truthfulness and credibility of the narratives that the Old Testament has preserved. And the narratives fully stand the test. They too bring before our view a civilized and cultured society; they too tell us of cities and kingdoms and empires, and of the intercourse that went on between them. The Egypt and Canaan they describe are, it is true, the civilized Egypt and Canaan of later times; but they are also the civilized Egypt and Canaan which the monuments now assure us already existed in the patriarchal age. The features of the civilization presupposed by the Book of Genesis are not borrowed from the period of the kings or of the Babylonian exile; the Egyptian monuments have proved that they belong to the age of the patriarchs themselves.

III.

THE CUNEIFORM TABLETS OF TEL EL-AMARNA.

Marvelous as some of the archeological discoveries in Egypt have been, none has been so marvelous as that of the cuneiform tablets of Tel el-Amarna. This has been so frequently discussed, and its bearing on the truth and interpretation of the Old Testament records has been so often brought before the public, that all we need do at present is to give a general account of the discovery, and state the most important conclusions to be derived from it.

Tel el-Amarna is the name of a village on the eastern bank of the Nile, about midway between the towns of Minieh and Assiut. It takes its name from a long line of "mounds" which stand on the edge of the desert, and mark the site of an ancient Egyptian city. The history of the city was a short one, but it represented one of the most curious and interesting episodes in the history of the Pharaohs, and during the brief span of its existence was the center of high artistic activity.

For several centuries Egypt had been under the domination of the so-called Hyksos, or Shepherd-kings, invaders from Asia who had conquered the country, and then had gradually succumbed to the influence of Egyptian culture. But though they adopted the manners and customs of the subject population, that population

never forgot that they were foreigners. A struggle for independence broke out, which, after lasting for three or four generations, ended in the expulsion of the Asiatic stranger. The eighteenth dynasty was founded by Ahmes I, and the war against the Asiatic, which had begun in Egypt, was carried into the home of the Asiatic himself. The energetic successors of Ahmes made themselves masters of Asia as far as the banks of the Euphrates; Canaan became an Egyptian province, and the Egyptian empire extended from the shores of the Gulf of Antioch in the north to the Kushites of the Soudan in the south. Thothmes III (1503-1449 B.C.), the most brilliant sovereign of a brilliant dynasty, even penetrated into Cyprus, and received tribute from the islands and coasts of the Ægean.

But the conquest of Asia brought Asiatic influences into Egypt. The court became more and more Asiatic, and less Egyptian, in character, and the Pharaohs married into the royal houses of Babylonia and Mitanni, the Aram Naharaim of Scripture. Syrians and Canaanites were promoted to the high offices of state, or appointed governors over the towns of Palestine. Finally, the throne of Ahmes was occupied by a Pharaoh whose mother and grandmother had alike been Asiatics, and who had been brought up in Asiatic habits and in an Asiatic form of faith.

This Pharaoh was Amenophis IV. He seems to have

ascended the throne early in life, and at all times to have been strongly under the influence of his mother Teie. It was not long before he publicly renounced the faith of his forefathers, and declared himself a convert to that Asiatic Baal whose visible symbol was the solar disk. The worship of Amon, the god of Thebes and of the dynasty to which the king himself belonged, was proscribed throughout the land of Egypt, the name of the deity was erased wherever it occurred, and the Pharaoh changed his own name to Khu-n-Aten,—"the glory of the solar disk." War to the knife was now declared between the king and the powerful priesthood of Thebes; it ended by the retreat of the king and his adherents to the north, where he built himself a new city, the ruins of which are now known as Tel el-Amarna. In its center rose the temple of the solar disk, modeled after those of Asia; and hard by rose the royal palace, gorgeous with frescoes and inlaid work of gold and bronze, precious stones, and colored glass. Along with the new religion there grew up a new school of art, which threw aside the old conventionalities of Egyptian art, and aimed at an exact and truthful representation of nature.

The royal archives were carried away from Thebes to the new capital of the Pharaoh. Some of them form part of the collection of cuneiform tablets which were found by the fellahin, in 1887, in the ruins of the Foreign Office of Khu-n-Aten. These tablets consist for the most part

of letters and despatches from the Egyptian officers and vassal princes in Palestine and Syria, as well as from the independent sovereigns of Babylonia, Assyria, Mesopotamia, and eastern Asia Minor. The correspondence ceases suddenly in the reign of Khu-n-Aten, and probably with his death.

Excavations, carried on three years ago by Professor Flinders Petrie, have brought to light fragments of the dictionaries which were used by the scribes in the Egyptian Foreign Office. Among the tablets previously discovered were fragments of Babylonian stories, one of which attempted to account for the origin of sin, and which had served as reading-lessons to the Egyptian or Canaanitish student in the Babylonian language and script. The discovery has quite revolutionized our conception of the Oriental world in the century before the exodus, and several important conclusions can be deduced from it.

First of all, it proves how deep and long lasting must have been the influence of Babylonia in Western Asia. Before the difficult and complicated cuneiform system of writing, as well as the Babylonian language, could have become the recognized medium of literary intercourse, Syria and Palestine must have been for a very long while under Babylonian domination. In no other way can we explain such a complete supremacy of Babylonian culture as is implied by the use of the Babylonian language

and script as far as the frontiers of Egypt. The conclusion is in accordance with what the inscriptions of Babylonia itself teach us. We learn from them that Babylonian conquerors had made their way to Palestine in the gray dawn of history, and, in the age of Abraham, a Babylonian monarch still calls himself king of the land of the Amorites, the name under which Syria and Palestine were known. We could not desire a better confirmation of the truth of that Old Testament history which tells us how Abraham, the Chaldean, migrated to the West, how Babylonian princes ruled and warred in Canaan in the lifetime of the patriarch, and how, at a later period, "a goodly Babylonish garment "was among the spoils of Jericho. Doubts have been cast by a skeptical criticism on the fourteenth chapter of Genesis because it describes a Babylonian campaign in Palestine in the patriarchal age, but archeological discovery has now caused the doubts to recoil upon the heads of the critics who uttered them. It was the critics, and not the Bible, who were ignorant of history.

Secondly, the discovery of the tablets of Tel el-Amarna shows how extensive were the knowledge and use of writing throughout the East in the time of Moses. From the banks of the Euphrates to those of the Nile letters were constantly passing to and fro, sometimes upon matters of little importance. Canaan, the high road between east and west, was the center of this literary

intercourse, and the majority of the writers of the letters we possess were of Canaanitish descent. Schools and libraries must have existed all over the land. Not only was the system of writing of foreign origin, the language of the correspondence was foreign also. Moreover, the system of writing was one of the most complicated possible, demanding a good memory and years of study, besides some acquaintance with the old non-Semitic language of primitive Chaldea, upon which it was based. What, then, becomes of all those critical objections to the credibility of the Pentateuch which are founded on the assumption that the use of writing for literary purposes was practically unknown to the Israelites and the people of Canaan in the age of Moses? We now know that, so far from being an illiterate age, it was an age of the highest literary activity, and it would be nothing short of a miracle if the Israelites alone, in the midst of literary populations like the Canaanites, the Egyptians, and the Babylonians, should have been in a state of intellectual slumber. And, even if they had been, the archive chambers of Canaan were stored with records on imperishable clay, which would have handed down the history of the past to a time when the most negative criticism admits that writing was known to them.

Then, thirdly, we can now understand why no early inscriptions in the so-called Phenician alphabet have been found in Palestine. The ancient script of the

country was not the Phenician alphabet, but the cuneiform syllabary of Babylonia, and it was not until the conquests of the Hittites cut off the Semites of Babylonia and Assyria from the Semites of Canaan that its use was discontinued in the latter country.

Fourthly, we now know what were the causes which led to the exodus of the Israelites. The religious reforms of Khu-n-Aten made little impression on the mass of his countrymen. Religious and civil war broke out, and shortly after his death the eighteenth dynasty came to an end. The city he had founded was deserted, the temple of the solar disk destroyed, and the adherents of the new faith were banished or slain. But the reaction against the religious reforms of Khu-n-Aten was only part of a national uprising against the domination of the Asiatic foreigner. The Canaanite and other Asiatic officials were driven out of the country, or, it may be, put to death, and in Rameses I, the founder of the nineteenth dynasty, the Egyptians saw a national champion who was opposed to all things Asiatic. In this war against Asiatic influence the Israelites were necessarily included. Their children were destroyed, and their grown-up men handed over to public slavery. In the "new king which knew not Joseph" we must therefore see the founder of the nineteenth dynasty, and we can now understand why the Pharaoh of the Oppression should have followed so quickly upon him. Mr. Naville's

discovery of Pithom proved that the Pharaoh of the Oppression must have been Rameses II, the grandson of Rameses I.

Lastly, the Tel el-Amarna tablets have thrown an abundance of light upon the condition of Canaan in the century before the exodus. In many respects it resembled India under the British dominion. The more important cities, like Gezer and Megiddo, were placed under Egyptian governors, immediately appointed by the Pharaoh. Other cities, however, were left under vassal princes, who were visited from time to time by Egyptian "commissioners," and whose fidelity was assured by the presence of Egyptian garrisons. Among these princes was Ebed-tob of Jerusalem, which already appears as a leading state in Canaan. A considerable proportion of the governors were of Canaanitish extraction, and both governors and princes were constantly quarreling with one another, and sending counter-accusations to the Egyptian court. At the same time many of them intrigued with the foreign rivals or enemies of Egypt, the Babylonians, the people of Mitanni or Aram Naharim, and the Hittites who had descended from the Taurus ranges and were overrunning northern Syria. In Palestine itself the Egyptian power had to cope with the attacks of the Bed'ween, some of whose chiefs, however, professed to be loyal subjects of the Pharaoh, as well as with the Khabiri, or "Confederates," who, I

believe, gave their name to Hebron, but whose identification is still a matter of dispute. On the eastern side of the Jordan the authority of Egypt extended throughout the "field of Bashan" as far south as the borders of Edom, which preserved its independence.

The Egyptian empire in Syria was lost after the death of Khu-n-Aten, and, though it was partially restored by Sety I, the father of Rameses II, it was only for a short while. But it was only while it lasted that Canaan could be geographically described as a brother of Mizraim or Egypt, as is done in Genesis 10 : 6. At no later time was such a description possible. The fall of the Egyptian empire in Palestine resulted in disaster to its inhabitants. City was arrayed against city, princelet against princelet, while the Bed'ween wasted the open country, and the Hittite forces pressed forward from the north. The campaigns of Sety I and his son still farther increased the sufferings of the Canaanites, and destroyed their trade. When the Israelites appeared, shortly afterwards, they found a country that had already been ravaged by hostile forces, and a population already exhausted by war. The measure of the iniquity of Canaan had been filled up, and the time had come when it should pass into the possession of the children of Israel. The way had been prepared for them by Egyptians and Babylonians, by Hittites and Bed'ween, and by internal feuds, and the cities of the Amorites, despite

their lofty walls and the iron chariots of their defenders, fell a prey to the descendants of "the slaves of Pharaoh."

IV.

EXCAVATIONS AT KOM OMBO, LUXOR, AND IN THE FAYYÛM.

One of the most picturesque of Egyptian ruins, not long ago, was the temple of Kom Ombo, a little to the north of Assuan. Standing on the summit of a lofty bank of sand, which the river was perpetually eating away, its half-buried columns and pointed roofs imprinted themselves on the memory of every traveler on the Nile. At the beginning of the present century there still existed beside it the remains of a second temple, which had been erected by Thothmes III of the eighteenth dynasty. But these remains have long since been undermined and destroyed by the river, and the temple which artists have delighted to paint was of much later date, having been built by the Ptolemies, and completed in the age of the Roman emperors.

Shortly after the British occupation of Egypt, the picturesque character of the temple was somewhat impaired by its transformation into a fort, the ancient brick wall which surrounded it being utilized for the purpose. The fort has since been abandoned, and for a few years Kom Ombo resumed its former appearance of picturesque soli-

tude. It was during this period that I discovered the necropolis of the town, to which the temple had been attached, in the low, marly cliff on which now stands the neighboring village of Shotb. The mummies found in the tombs, however, all belonged to the late Greek or early Roman era.

Two years ago, Mr. de Morgan, the energetic director of the department of Egyptian antiquities, determined to clear the temple of the sand in which it was entombed. The work was carried on actively, and the result has been the disinterment of one of the largest and stateliest of the temples which still exist in the valley of the Nile. It has sprung, as it were, out of the sand at the touch of a magician's rod, and we have discovered, to our surprise, that the portion of the temple previously visible was but a fragment of the whole edifice, and that deep underneath the ground on which we trod were vast halls and corridors, and brilliantly painted columns and walls. In front of the main body of the temple, and overlooking the Nile, was a stately terrace, in the center of which rose an altar large enough for the sacrifice of an ox. From the terrace we enter a corridor which runs around the three other sides of the building, and the southern and northern walls of which are decorated with cartouches, each containing the name of a foreign country. These foreign lands were supposed to have been conquered by Ptolemy Auletes,—a prince who, so far from

conquering any country, really lost the possessions he had inherited,—and they are little else than a medley of all the various countries and peoples which former kings of Egypt had claimed to have subdued. Among them, therefore, we have names which had long since disappeared from history, and were preserved only on the monuments of a Thothmes or a Rameses.

There are two names, however, which have never before been found on any Egyptian monument, and which possess a special interest for the reader of the Bible. One of these is Kaptar, the Caphtor of the Old Testament; the other is Kasluhet, the Casluhim of Genesis 10 : 14. The names of Caphtor and Casluhim have given rise to many conjectures and speculations, which the discovery at Kom Ombo shows to be baseless. We now know that the biblical spelling of the names is exact, and that the attempts hitherto made to explain them must be given up. The name of Kaptar, or Caphtor, ends the first line of the list in the southern corridor, and is preceded by those of Persia, Susa, Babylon, and Pontus. The spelling of the two latter names is especially noteworthy. Pontus is represented by Punt, which in the days of the Pharaohs denoted, not a district of Asia Minor, but the coasts of the Red Sea; while Babylon is written Balbal, with an evident play on the Semitic *balbêl* ("to confound"). Kasluhet is the fifth name in the second line of the list, which begins with

the people of the Sinaitic peninsula and Syria, and immediately after it comes the name of Zoar. It may be added that in the northern corridor we find the name of Kana'n, or Canaan.

The excavation of the temple of Luxor has also revealed a geographical name well known to us in the pages of the Bible. In front of the northern pylon or entrance of the temple, Rameses II, the Pharaoh of the Oppression, erected six colossal statues of himself, and recent excavations have shown that on their bases he caused to be engraved the names of the distant lands his armies had overrun or subdued. Among these names is that of Moab,—the earliest example of its occurrence outside the pages of the Old Testament.

Quite as interesting is a discovery recently made by Professor W. Max Müller in a papyrus which was written in the age of Rameses II. The papyrus contains a sarcastic account of the misadventures met with by a military commander when traveling through Palestine, and is generally known as "The Travels of the Mohar." Here the scribe scoffs at the Mohar for not having seen "Kirjath-anab near Beth-Thupar," as well as "Adullam and Zidipusa," the last of which is placed by Shishak in the south of Judah. Thupar corresponds phonetically with the Hebrew *sopher* ("scribe"), and a careful examination of the text has shown Professor Müller that the name is preceded by a character which ideographically

denotes "scribe." When we remember that in Joshua 11 : 21 and 15 : 50 Anab is associated with Debir, or Kirjath-sepher, it seems clear that the Egyptian writer has interchanged the synonymous terms *kirjath* ("city") and *beth* ("house"), and that the towns he refers to are Beth-anab and Kirjath-sopher. The fact is important, as it is the first mention yet discovered, on a contemporaneous monument, of the famous Canaanitish city which was destroyed by the invading Israelites. Moreover, it proves that, although the Masorites were wrong in making the second element of the name *sepher* ("a book"), they were right in the general signification that they gave to the name. Kirjath-sopher was "a city of scribes," and therefore one of those centers of Canaanitish literature and culture which the Tel el-Amarna tablets prove to have existed there. The attempt to give another signification to the name, and so to explain away the testimony it bears to the literary character of the Mosaic age, has thus shared the fate that it deserved.

But it is not only among the monuments of the Pharaohs and the Ptolemies that Egyptological research has been busy. The Egyptian tombs and ruined monasteries have been yielding up Greek papyri and early Christian documents of the highest value. At Howâra in the Fayyûm, Mr. Petrie found that the cartonnage of the mummy-cases was composed of fragments of inscribed papyri, doubtless the contents of the waste-paper

baskets, which some undertaker had bought. The dates given on many of the papyri show that the papyri belong for the most part to the reigns of the second and third Ptolemies, and that they are therefore the earliest Greek manuscripts known to exist. From a tomb in the neighborhood of Assiut have come other Greek papyri, belonging to the first century after the Christian era, which have restored to us some of the lost masterpieces of antiquity.

Christian literature is represented principally by the fragments of a Greek version of the Book of Enoch, and of the apocryphal Gospel of St. Peter, which have been discovered at Ekhmîm. The fragments prove what had already been suspected, that there were two Greek versions of that curious apocalypse, the Book of Enoch, as they present us with a text which differs considerably from that from which the Ethiopic translation of the book was made. The questions raised by the Gospel of St. Peter are still subjects of discussion, and would require too much space to be adequately treated here; there seems little doubt, however, that the Gospel is of comparatively early date, and that it displays Docetic tendencies. Thus the cry of Christ on the cross is transformed into, "My power, my power (δύναμις), thou hast left me!" The responsibility, too, for the death of our Lord, is transferred from Pilate to the Jews.

In connection with the papyri we must not forget to

mention the ostraka, or inscribed potsherds, which were employed for the registration of the public accounts in the Egypt of the Greek and Roman age. Broken pots were cheaper than papyrus, and consequently the payment of the taxes was registered upon them, usually in Greek, more rarely in demotic. At times other matters are noted upon them, such as letters, lists of persons who were subject to taxation, records of the height of the Nile, and the like; and one from Karnak, of the time of Augustus, which is now in my possession, has upon it, "O Isidorus, when you come please bring with you the commentary on the first book of the Iliad." After the conversion of the Egyptians to Christianity, ostraka were used by the Coptic monks for making extracts from sermons. The oldest Greek ostraka belong to the reign of Ptolemy Physcon, and, among them, my collection contains some from Karnak, which show that the office of tax-gatherer for the sacred domain of the temple of Amon was held at the time by a Jew, Simon, the son of Eleazar. Simon himself did not know Greek, and his accounts were consequently written out for him by one of his sons. But, as might have been expected, a Jew who farmed the taxes for a heathen temple was not likely to continue in the faith of his forefathers, and it is therefore not surprising to find that his son, who succeeded him in his office, bore the Greek name of Philoklês. The history of the family illustrates that Helleni-

zation of the Jews which went on so rapidly under the earlier successors of Alexander the Great, and threatened at one time to obliterate altogether the Jewish religion and race. It was only the Maccabean revolt which saved Israel, and brought the nation back to a remembrance of the mission to which it had been called.

DISCOVERIES AND RESEARCHES IN ARABIA.

Gumdân Castle, San'â.

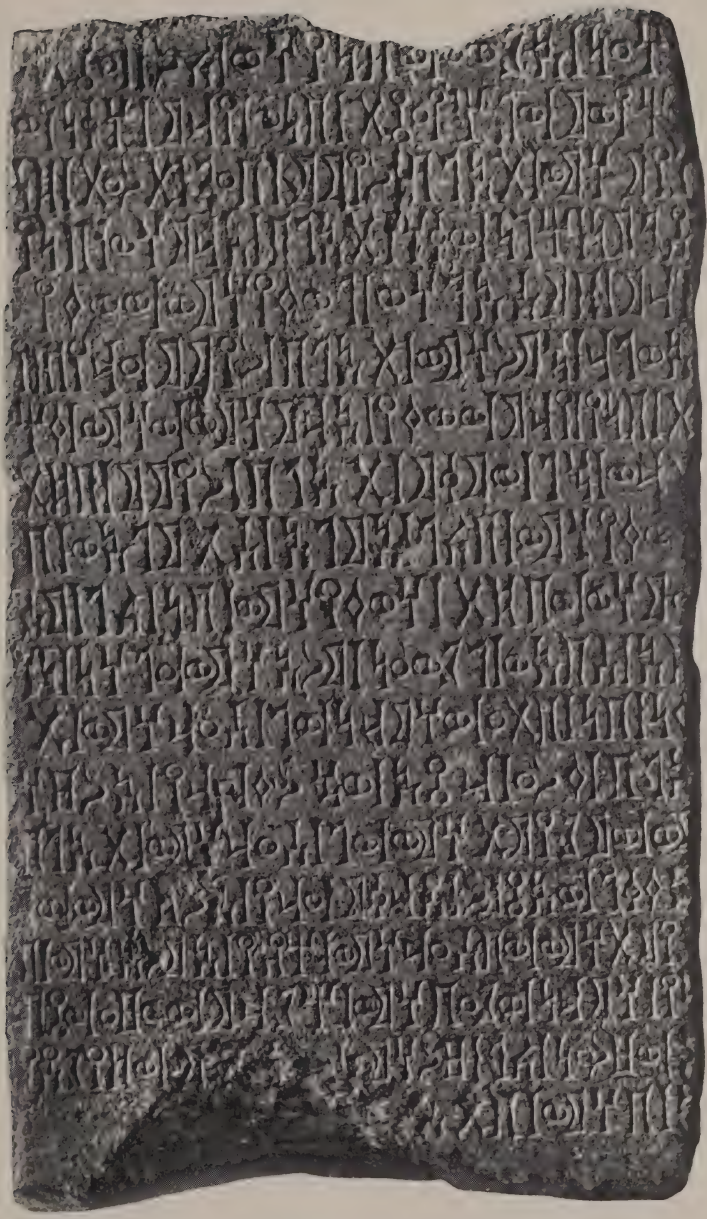
DISCOVERIES AND RESEARCHES IN ARABIA.

BY PROFESSOR FRITZ HOMMEL, PH.D.

Until lately, it has been the general opinion that the inscriptions found in South Arabia by travelers in the last decennaries did not date farther back than about 100 B.C. Only the mention of the Sabean Ita'amara in the inscriptions of the Assyrian king Sargon led the late François Lenormant to the belief that one of the princes of Saba, Jatha'amir, known from inscriptions, must be identical with him; that, at least, both names must be the same. This observation of Lenormant resulted in the Sabeists, not long after, drawing the inference of the date of composition of the oldest Sabean royal inscriptions. The attention of Oriental scholars had been since then more closely directed to ancient Arabia; and this became still more the case when an Austrian explorer, Dr. Edward Glaser, who since 1882 has made four journeys to Arabia, brought not only a large number of new inscriptions from there, but also tried to prove that a whole series of inscriptions, the so-called Minean, had to be placed before the Sabean.

According to this assertion, the beginning of our information on the civilization of South Arabia, as derived from inscriptions, is to be moved backward to the middle of the second millenium before Christ. This supposition, although so far not refuted, is still opposed by several scholars. Yet it is the lasting merit of Glaser's researches into the archeology of South Arabia to have placed the important part Arabia played in the history of the ancient Semitic nations in the proper light by means of inscriptions, the Old Testament, cuneiform inscriptions, and the classics. He did this in his sketch of the "History and Geography of Arabia" (Vol. II. Berlin, 1890). Of the first volume, treating of the history of Arabia, unfortunately only the first part has been published. Glaser has not only distinguished himself by it as an intrepid and fortunate explorer, but also as a scholar who understands how to treat his material in an ingenious and clever way.

But, much as has been done in the last ten years by Glaser's activity in exploring South Arabia, a great deal more could have been accomplished if he had been better sustained financially. With Glaser's incomparable knowledge of the country and its people, not only Marîb (the ancient Saba), but also Ma'în and Shabwa, would have been searched for new inscriptions, if he had had the necessary means. Our limited knowledge of the ancient history of Arabia would have been completed



South Arabian inscription from San'â.

with some trifling omissions, and much that we can now only guess at would have been proved in detail.

Before giving to my readers a sketch of the most important results of Glaser's journeys and works, I would point out, in connection with the study of the Bible and cuneiform inscriptions, several facts which have hitherto received little or no attention. The importance of Arabian civilization before the Christian era will be put in a still clearer light by them.

It had been supposed, for a long time, that the countries Magan and Milukh, often mentioned in the cuneiform inscriptions, were to be looked for in Arabia. In the second (the geographical) part of his sketch Glaser has proved beyond doubt that Magan is that part of Arabia bounding Babylonia (on the Persian Gulf), and that Milukh represents northwest Arabia (to the peninsula of Sinai, but not including it). These two dominions, including the whole northern part of Arabia, have always been, even in remote antiquity, in close connection with Babylonia,—a fact clearly brought out by the inscriptions found by de Sarzec in Tello.

Even the ancient king of Sirgulla, Ur-Ghanna,[1] prides himself on having brought from Magan all kinds of *kish-kanû* trees; namely, palm-trees. These are the same trees called, later on, *musukkan*, and, by way of Babylonian popular etymology, also *mis-Magan* ("tree of

[1] Most Assyriologists read this king's name "Ur-Ninâ."—THE EDITOR.

Magan"). Yea, King Narâm-Sin of Agadi, who probably lived not long after Ur-Ghanna, and had led an expedition against Magan, brought, among other things, a beautiful vase of alabaster as booty. A still more important part Magan and Milukh played at the time of the renowned priest-king, Gudea of Sirgulla. As Magan was the principal place whence Gudea brought the diorite (*ushû* stone) which he used for his statues, it is also mentioned with Milukh, Gubi, and Nituk (Dilmun, in the Persian Gulf) as producing different kinds of hard wood used for shipbuilding, while Milukh was especially noted for its *ushû* wood and its gold dust. The latter was also obtained from the Khâkhum Mountains; namely, Khâkh, southeast from Medîna. As the Babylonians designated Magan also as the Copper Mountains, and, as the country neighboring Magan is Mash, which plays such an important part in the "Nimrod Epic," and forms the high plateau of Central Arabia, the assertion that the Copper Mountains of Kimash ("land of Mash") are identical with the Mash Mountains seems not too bold.

The entrance gate to this dark and dreary mountain region, which Nimrod had to pass in order to reach the "Isle of the Blessed," the abode of his ancestor Noah, was guarded by the fabulous scorpion men. "The Gate of his Ancestor" (*Abul-abi-shu*) was the name given to these mountains by the Babylonians. They have this

name even in the inscriptions of Gudea (Sumerian, *Ka-gal-adda*). According to the cuneiform inscriptions, Milukh was also famously known for its precious stones, especially the *sâmdu* stone, or the *shoham* of the Bible. Altogether, the parallelism of Milukh and Havilah, as already pointed out by Glaser, seems striking: Milukh with its products of gold dust, *sâmdu* stones, and *ushû* wood, and Havilah with its gold, *shoham* stones, and *bedolakh*.

From all this it follows that since ancient times East and West Arabia, as far south as the Tropic of Cancer, and the Westland, Martu, which bounded Milukh on the north, were under the influence of Babylonian civilization. The mountains of Martu, called Tidanum, whence Gudea got his alabaster (*shir-gal*), are doubtless identical with the Dedan of the Bible and of the Minean inscriptions, and were situated east of Edom and in the eastern part of the Jordan region.

Several hundred years later, about 2000 B.C., we find in Babylonian history a remarkable fact, qualified to cast a new light on Semitic history. While, in South Babylonia, first a Semitic, then an Elamite, dynasty ruled (at Larsa), which also claimed the supremacy over North Babylonia, Arabian princes had succeeded in gaining firm foothold in the city of Babel. Finally they united the whole Babylonia, and brought it under their scepter, until they were overthrown after three hundred years,—

most likely by the Elamite-Kassite king Gandas. This represents the well-known first Babylonian dynasty, which was at its height under the renowned King Khammurabi, and whose last king but one was Ammi-zaduga. As several of the eleven names had a good Babylonian sound, especially that of the fourth king, Apil-Sin, and that of the fifth, Sin-muballit, nobody except Pognon[1] had so far ever doubted the Babylonian origin of this dynasty, until, some years ago, the well-known English Assyriologist Sayce pointed out the identity of the name of the last king but one, Ammi-zaduga, and that of the South Arabic (Minean) name Ammi-saduq, whose second element, *zadug*, belongs to a root which is not found in Assyrian. Sayce ("Records of the Past," new series, Vol. III. 1890. Preface, p. x ff.) besides pointed out the fact that the bilingual list of kings (Rawlinson's "Inscriptions," Vol. I, pl. 54) translates the name Khammu-rabi by Kimta-rapashtu ("Extended Family"), and the name Ammi-zaduga by Kimtu-kittu ("Just Family"),—thus *khammu* as well as *ammi* by "family." Sayce adds, as his opinion: "It is more probable that in both instances it is really the name of a god," referring to such names of the Old Testament as Ammi-el, Jerob-'am ("'Am

[1] As early as 1887 this French scholar Pognon claimed Arabian (or Aramean) origin for this dynasty (*Journal Asiatique*, Vol. XI, No. 3, pp. 543-547). Compare Professor Hommel's own recent statement in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. XLIX, p. 528, *Nachschrift*. —THE EDITOR.

fights;" comp. "Jisra-el"), and the Kedræo-Arabic name of the king Ammu-ladin. Although the list of the eleven kings of this first dynasty, from Number III to Number XI, has the addition "son of the preceding," Sayce concludes that the first five kings must have been of national Babylonian descent, but that from Khammu-rabi "nomad Semites on the frontiers of Chaldea" had seized the dominion.

But Sayce's assertion that we have to deal here with Arabs had to be considered as doubtful, or, at the most, as only possible, until it could be proved that the respective names, which are also found with the Hebrews, were really Arabic, and not rather of Canaanite origin. As we are since informed by Mr. Pinches that the father of Ammi-zaduga called himself "king of the large country of Martu," that is, the Westland (comprising in first line Palestine and Syria),[1] it seems most likely that the dynasty of Khammu-rabi was of Canaanite origin.

Notwithstanding this, it can be proved now in detail that Sayce has recognized with the insight of genius the correct facts. Not only, however, the kings beginning with Khammu-rabi, but the whole first dynasty, are of Arabian and not of Canaanite origin. In the first two names, Shumu-abi ("Shem is my father") and Sumu-

[1] Khammu-rabi was also king of Martu (comp. H. Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, pp. 145, 198).

la-ilu (" Is Shem not god ? "), we observe the same circumscription of the name of a god so frequent in the inscriptions of South Arabia; for example, in the name Sim-hû-riyâmî (" His name is my glory "), Sim-hû-'alî (" His name is sublime "), Jada'-sim-hû (" He knows his name," name of a god of Harim, comp. the Hebrew Shem-jada', Num. 26 : 32, and first of all Shemû-el, " His name is God," Samuel). The name of the patriarch Shem is most likely also only an abbreviation of a proper name, composed with Shem = god. The third name, Zabium, is Arabic, evident by the closing *m*, the so-called mimation, and, in fact, occurs in inscriptions from South Arabia (for example, British Museum, 25, 6), as well as in the lists of the genealogists of North Arabia; the significance is " warrior." In regard to the sixth name, Khammu-rabi, there exists a whole series of equally formed names of contemporaries, as Samas-rabi, Sin-rabi, Rammân-rabi, etc. Either these names signify " Samas, Sin, Rammân," etc., " is my lord," or " is great " or " multiplied." In both cases, the mode of expression is Arabic, as the name Jarbi-ilu (the Babylonians would say Irbi-ilu), a name of the same epoch, proves. That the Babylonians themselves considered this element *rabi* to be of foreign origin, proves their translation of the name Khammu-rabi by Kimtu-rapashtu. Still more interesting is even the first element Khammu, which, according to the analogy of the other

names composed with *rabi*, must be regarded as the name of a god. Already the existence of an ancient Semitic god 'Am (with *ajin*, Babylonian pronunciation Khammu) has been quite correctly inferred by Sayce. To settle this question absolutely, Glaser informs us that, according to his newly discovered Catabanian inscriptions, written in the Minean dialect, the principal god was called 'Amm, in consequence of which the Catabanes were called "children of 'Amm" (*walad 'Amm*) by the Sabeans. The signification of 'Amm, the name of this god, is "uncle." To the ancient Semites, god was their father (*abu*), uncle (*ammu* and *khâlu*), and their cousin or beloved one (*dâdu*), in one person. Thus the other names with *'ammî* ("my uncle"),—for example, in Hebrew, *'Ammî-el* ("My uncle is god"),—which, however, also originate from the ancient Mineans in Arabia, where they were understood and preserved the longest.

Here belong the names of the ninth and tenth kings, Ammi-satana and Ammi-zaduga. We must not be surprised that (according to the analogy of Khammu in Khammu-rabi) we do not meet with Khammî, even in these names. The Babylonians rendered the West Semitic *ajin* either by *kh* or by a *spiritus lenis* (or, aleph) only. Thus we find in a contract tablet one and the same name, 'Abdî-ilu, written in the beginning Ab-di-ilu, and, farther on, Kha-ab-di-ilu (Pinches, "Collection of Sir Henry Peek," No. 13, time of King Zabium).

The seventh name, that of the son of Khammu-rabi, is Samsu-ilu-na; namely, "Samas is our deity." In Babylonian, this name would be Samsu-ilu-ni (as, for instance, Samas-abu-ni, "Samas is our father;" in Canaanite it would be Samsu-ilenu. Only the Arabs would say *ilu-na* for "our god." The names of the last three kings (Ammi-satana, Ammi-zaduga, and therewith also Samsu-satana) having already been examined, there still remains the name of the eighth king, Abishu, or Ibishu. The complete writing of it is Abîshu'a (A-bi-í-shu'-u-a), (British Museum, 80, 11-12, 185. Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*).[1] This name, it is true, is also met with among the Hebrews as Abî-shu'a (great-grandson of Aharon), but in regard to its formation it can only be understood as Arabic where in the inscriptions it is rendered as Abî-jathu'a. The Arabian prince whose likeness we have in the well-known representation of a tomb of the twelfth dynasty, is also called Ibsha', or Absha'. The thirty-seven richly dressed 'Amu (namely, worshipers of 'Am) who accompanied him offer eye-paint or *mesdem*, also a special product of Arabia (*ithmid*, *stibium*).[2]

[1] This writing of the king's name is often found on his tablets in the museum of the University of Pennsylvania.—THE EDITOR.

[2] Glaser has identified the Kham [Ham] of the biblical List of Races with the 'Amu of the Egyptian inscriptions. From this it would follow that the Hebrew Kham, arisen from the Babylonian Khammu, goes back to the South Arabic 'Amm. This casts a very interesting side-light on the place of origin of the earliest Hebrew stories.

Later, at the time of Assurbanapal, we meet with the same name once more, being that of a prince of the Kedarenes, but, in the more Aramaic pronunciation, Abijâti'.

Not only are the names of the kings of the first Babylonian dynasty purely Arabic, but we also find, as it is natural to expect, in the contract tablets dating from that period, a whole series of names of private persons of pure Arabic origin. Such names as Ya'zar-ilu, Natunum, Samasriyâmî, Jarbi-ilu, Jakbar-ilu, Jakhziru, Makhnûbi-ilu, Makhnûzu, Jamlik-ilu, Jadikhum (יִדְעִי), etc., are recognized at first sight as pure Arabic, and not Babylonian formations. It is of no use to shake the head and to be astonished. We have to deal with the irrefutable fact that the most renowned dynasty of the Babylonians, the kings under whose rule Abraham lived (for Amraphel is Ammu-rapalt, as the Babylonians remodeled the originally Arabic name Khammu-rabi), were of pure Arabian descent. This makes it comprehensible that old Babylonian words (probably already before Khammu-rabi's time) are to be traced to the Arabic; as, for instance, *sattukku* (sacrificial offering), Sumerian *sa-dug* to the Arabic *sadaqat.*[1] But, on the other side, it becomes clear whence in the very oldest Arabic idiom, that of the Mineans, whose empire flourished, according to Glaser, before that of the Sabeans, certain radical linguistic influences originated. They can be traced only to Babylo-

[1] Compare Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, p. 183.

nia. To such influence must be referred the fact that the Mineans always used the causative form *sakbal* instead of *hakbal*, and the suffix of the third person *su* instead of *hu* (in the same way, in the plural, *sum* instead of *hum*); also that among their gods they also have 'Athtar and Sin, deities of pure Babylonian origin; that they reckon according to eponyms, and render the word *to write*, not by the West Semitic word *katab*, but by the Babylono-Assyrian *shatar*. Their alphabet, an older sister of the Phenician, was probably also formed according to Babylonian models (which, for other reasons, I had already formerly believed).

Considering these facts, the magnificent researches and discoveries of inscriptions by Edward Glaser in South Arabia are presented in an entirely new light, and enter into the foreground of our interest for biblical and Oriental antiquity. Although at present we cannot state whether as early as the time of Khammu-rabi a Minean empire existed, and from which part of Arabia its dynasty came, nevertheless, from a study of the proper names we can draw the result that, even at that period, an Arabian civilization existed equal to the Mineo-Sabean. The fact also that Khammu-rabi and his successors were at the same time kings of the Westland, deserves our attention. Through Glaser again we know that the Mineans had extensive commercial intercourse with Ghaza and Edom (Dedan), and Dedan

(Tidanum) the old Babylonians considered a part of Martu. The unlucky expedition of Kedor-laomer (at the time of Khammu-rabi, who himself was a vassal of the Elamite king) was directed to the district of the Dead Sea, and to Elat,—that is, the territory of the Dedanites. It was Amiaud's supposition already that Magan, the old name for Eastern Arabia, was possibly only the Babylonian rendering for Ma'ân (Ma'ôn of the Book of Judges, chaps. 10, 12). But Ma'ân is in all probability but an older form of Ma'în. Be it as it will, a country which gave a whole dynasty, attended with so many other things, to ancient Babylonia, and which itself *vice versa* was influenced from there for millenniums, a country which, since ancient times, had the most cordial connections, even with the people of Israel,[1] deserves our whole interest, even in its later development.

Almost everything that we possess in the line of new and important inscriptions, since the acquisition of the so-called Osiander inscriptions in London, and the unfortunately often unreliable copies of Halévy in Paris, we owe to the four exploring tours of Edward Glaser to Arabia. This is especially true of his third in 1888, and the fourth from September, 1892, to spring, 1894.

[1] I do not refer here only to the well-known episode of the Queen of Saba's visit to King Salomo, but, first of all, also to the close relation which connected the Hebrew Moses, educated in Egyptian wisdom, with the Arabian priest-king, Jetro ben Reghu-el, of Midian (in South Arabic something like Watrân bin Radwa-il.) Beginning with that period, the South Arabic proper names referred to, and many other things, seem to have entered into Israel.

Dr. Edward Glaser, accompanied by the Arab shaykh Nâji ibn Muksin,
of the tribe Al Tu'aimân, and his nephew.

On account of the remarkable place where they were found, the numerous, but unfortunately mostly fragmentary, inscriptions copied by Julius Euting at el-Oela, in Northern Arabia, in 1884, and afterwards edited by D. H. Müller, of Vienna, must also be mentioned. Their real significance, however, was set forth later by Glaser (in his sketch, Vol. II). A part of these fragments, like most of the inscribed stones obtained by Glaser on his second journey (1885), and afterwards sold to the British Museum, belong to the texts written in the Minean dialect, which, on account of their linguistic character, and probably also the time of their composition, must be regarded as older than the Sabean, and, according to Glaser, reach even into the second millennium before Christ.

Through another portion of the fragments from which Euting took squeezes, we get acquainted with the so-called Lihyanian inscriptions, which present an entirely new style and manner of writing. Their language approaches closely the later written dialect of Northern Arabia, but has still the article in the older form *han-* (or *ha-*), almost identical with the Hebrew. The writing is a variety of the alphabet used in Southern Arabia, and the people are the *banû Lihyân*, also mentioned by the Arabian authors. These lived, as Glaser has correctly stated, originally in the east of Arabia, whence they probably also brought their writing; then, between the decline of the Nabatean Empire and the appearance of

Muhammad, perhaps about A.D. 300-400, they founded a little empire in northwestern Arabia, until finally (in the neighborhood of Mecca) they were absorbed by the well-known tribe of the Hudhailites.

But let us return to Glaser's journeys, the third of which will be always memorable for his visit to Mârib, the ancient capital of the Sabeans, which he made in March, 1888, and lasted five weeks. Before him, only two Europeans had successfully accomplished the dangerous trip from San'â, the seat of the Ottoman governor, to ancient Saba, three to four days' journey distant, and quite beyond the reach of Turkish authority. These two were Mr. Arnaud, a French apothecary, who, in 1843, stayed for three days in Mârib, and copied there some dozens of smaller inscriptions; and Professor Joseph Halévy of Paris, whose sojourn in Mârib in 1871 lasted but six hours. It was reserved for Glaser to get fully acquainted with the famous Sabean metropolis, where he remained for more than a month as the guest of the sheriff of Mârib, and whence he brought a rich collection of about three hundred inscriptions. In the first part of his sketch (Vol. I, History), distributed among the members of the Oriental Congress at Stockholm, but, unfortunately, not yet published, Glaser spoke of the most important results of his third journey, and especially of his visit to Mârib. This report attracted at that time much attention, and I am glad to be able to state

here that before long the first (historical) part of his sketch will be completed.

The most interesting of the numerous texts from Mârib and its nearest surroundings, and at the same time the longest of all inscriptions from South Arabia hitherto known, are the so-called Sirwâh inscription, written at the end of the rule of the Sabean priest-kings (about 700 B. C., or perhaps a few centuries earlier), and the two steles referring to the famous dam of Mârib, the second of which contains also new historical dates, and, being dated itself, can be regarded as the latest Sabean inscription (A. D. 542). It consists of not less than a hundred and thirty-six short lines, and informs us of the successfully suppressed revolt against the Ethiopic rule then established in southern Arabia (since A. D. 525), and in connection with this fact of a rupture of the dam just mentioned, which was built about a thousand years earlier. The Ethiopic king of whom the inscription speaks, Ramhûs (or Ramhîs), was so far not even nominally known, although the name of his viceroy, Abraha, who is also mentioned in the inscription, was familiar to scholars. Besides, we are informed that when peace was concluded with the rebels, the two then predominant powers, Rome (Byzantium) and Persia, and their North Arabian vassals, the prince of the Ghassanides, Harith (Aretas) bin Gabalat, and the king of Hira (on the Euphrates), al-Mundhir, who is mentioned so frequently

in the old Arabic poems from the time before Muhammad, were represented by ambassadors. Like several other post-Christian inscriptions, partly known before Glaser's journeys, this text is dated according to a so far unknown era, which various scholars had supposed to be the era of the Seleucides. The year of this era mentioned in our inscription is the year 657. The researches of Glaser (to whom I am indebted for the present summary of contents) have, however, proved beyond doubt that the era in question is not that of the Seleucides, but an era commencing with the year 115 B.C., and which is probably national Sabean. By what event it was caused we do not know; perhaps by the first breaking of the dam,—an accident which, subsequently, repeatedly occurred, and of which, even at Muhammad's time, Arabian writers have much to tell. This incident is said to have caused even the migration of a whole tribe,—a thing that scarcely can have been a mere figment of the brain. Accordingly, this inscription was written in A. D. 542, shortly after the war which Byzantium and Persia—or, rather, Ghassan and Hira—had carried on against each other (in A. D. 540).

This inscription, which, from its Christian opening ("in the power of the All-merciful and his Messiah and the Holy Ghost"), also has a certain significance for church history, throws light upon the last period of Sabean history. But the aforesaid Sirwâh inscription is

of greater importance for Semitic antiquity. In part, it had already been copied by Halévy, but the suspicious Bed'ween had taken his copy away from him. Glaser, however, succeeded in copying the whole large inscription of about a thousand words,—indeed, he even managed to take a splendid squeeze of it.

In different passages of his sketch (I, 62 f.; II, 89, 166, 243, 285, 294, 435, 449, 451, 463 f.) Glaser refers, in a more or less detailed way, to the contents of this highly interesting inscription. According to his statements, it was written by the priest-king (*mukarrib*) Kariba-il Watar, son of Dhamar-'alî, who flourished shortly before the period of the "kings" of Saba. His predecessor (probably his grandfather, Jada'-il Bayyin) had already carried on a successful war against the empire of Ma'în and that of Katabân, in consequence of which the king of Katabân became an ally of Saba, while Ma'în collapsed into ruins, or, at the most, was limited to its former capital, Karnâ'u. Kariba-il prides himself on having a number of towns of the Minean empire, among them especially the former second capital of Ma'în, Jathil, surrounded with walls, and consecrated to the god Almak-hu of Saba. Several other smaller empires—as Harim, Nashan, etc.—are mentioned besides as having been humiliated, and the names of the devastated towns, as well as the number of the killed and prisoners, are stated.

The fortunate discovery of this inscription, and the study of the former Minean inscriptions made known by Halévy, all of which presuppose a large Minean kingdom situated in the Gôf[1] of South Arabia, with the two centers Ma'în (or, Karnâ'u) and Jathil, have caused Glaser to draw a conclusion of great historical importance ; namely, that, though Eratosthenes (about 250 B.C., quoted by Strabo) still speaks of four great nations in South Arabia, the Mineans, Sabeans, Katabânians, and Hadhramautians, "who are ruled by kings," the Minean kingdom known from inscriptions must chronologically be placed *before* the rise of the Sabean power. Glaser's chief reason for this theory was the strange absence of mutual mention of each other, both in the Minean and Sabean inscriptions. If, notwithstanding this, we should adhere to the view that the two empires existed contemporaneously, we should have to assume, in addition, that after the defeat of Ma'în by Saba (towards the end of the period of the priest-kings of Saba), Ma'în succeeded once more in effecting a consolidation,—a process which naturally could not have taken place without a thorough humiliation of the Sabean rival empire. But neither the Sabean nor the Minean inscriptions, although we now possess a considerable number of both, indicate anything of such an event. Consequently we shall have

[1] The long and very fertile valley of the river Khârid, north of San'â and northwest of Mârib, extending from west to east for several days' journey.

to abide by Glaser's theory, which I, for my part, consider one of the most fortunate historical hypotheses. This theory is of the greatest historical range, inasmuch as from it it follows that, as the most flourishing period of the Minean empire, we must consider the centuries preceding and following 1000 B. C., in round numbers about 1300 to 700 B. C., or, perhaps more correctly, about 1400 (or 1500) to 800 B. C. By this assumption the civilization of southern Arabia was contemporary with the Old Assyrian and the Middle Babylonian, as well as with the Egyptian of the New Empire. This is at present the less remarkable, as it is evident, from what has already been said, that there existed really, as early as about 2000 B. C., a civilization in Arabia which must have been very similar to that familiar to us in South Arabia, and of which, in all probability, this latter was only a younger branch.

In the second, the geographical, part of his sketch, which was written and published in the interval between his third and fourth journeys, Glaser established a number of new facts of historic biblical nature which are not directly connected with his inscriptions. The most important of them, involving an entirely new conception of the significance of Arabia for Semitic antiquity, and radically transforming our old ideas of the Arabian peninsula, may be briefly stated here. First of all, there is to be pointed out what appears to me the final location

of the famous gold-land Ophir, which, according to Glaser, is situated nowhere else than in the east of Arabia, and comprises the coast of the present Bahrein and its back land, the country of Yemâma. In order to reach it, Hiram's or Solomon's ships had to sail from Elat around the whole of Arabia, stopping, in all probability, still at a number of ports important for the trade with India. This explains the long duration of the whole voyage, which, back and forth, lasted three years. Glaser proves his theory, among other reasons, by referring to the numerous gold-mines in Yemâma, which, in fact, are known to have still existed in the ninth century before Christ, and reminding us of the riches of gold in the same region (the ancient Milukha) at the time of Gudea, about 2800 B.C. Besides, he recalls the fact that the opposite coast of Elam (the later Persian shore) was in ancient times called Apir,—a name identical with the Hebrew Ophir, and in later times transferred, as he thinks, to the coast of East Arabia, which at certain periods was under Elamitic influence.

In connection with this, we must speak of another very important point of Glaser's new theories; namely, of the correct explanation of the spreading of Kush (Kash) as a name of nations. While Lepsius (in the Introduction of his "Grammar of the Nuba Languages") reversed the whole matter by assuming that the Kesh (the later Kushites of the Bible, and the Kâsu of the Assyrians),

who can be traced back to the twelfth dynasty in Nubia, were the colonists of Babylonia and Elam, Glaser proceeds from the only correct view,—that in the earliest time we know of but one people called Kash, that of Elam, the old neighboring country of Babylonia. The Babylonian Kassites[1] invaded Babylonia from Elam about 1700 B.C., and founded there a dynasty which lasted several centuries. Glaser further proves that since ancient times the Elamites, succeeded by the Persians, attempted to colonize East Africa, from which they brought slaves and ivory. They went there by way of Arabia. This throws light on several so far isolated and incomprehensible facts of ancient history; it explains especially why, in the so-called list of nations (Gen. 10), a number of tribes of South and East Arabia appear once as sons of Kush, or Kosh, and another time as descendants of Shem.[2] Several other times, in the Old Testament, we meet the name of Kush as designating Arabia; for example, in 2 Chronicles 14, where we read

[1] This is the correct name of these intruders, as Oppert rightly emphasizes, and not Kosseans.

[2] It is a similar mixture when once the writer of the List of Nations connects Kush with Misrayim (Egypt), and Canaan with Kham, while, on the other side, he calls the Egyptians and the Semites (especially, however, the Arabs) 'Amu. Both names—Kham and 'Amu—have, according to Glaser, the same origin, meaning certainly nothing else than the worshipers of 'Amu, as I have already pointed out in connection with the divine name 'Amu. In this case, however, the Hebrews received their Kham through the Babylonians, as Kham is the Babylonian rendering of 'Amm (compare Khammurabi).

of the campaign of the Kushite Zeraikh against Asa, king of Judea. The Septuagint reports him to have come with the Maśonites, a tribe of southern Arabia, known from Ptolemy, and identical with the later banû Mâzin, whom we meet in inscriptions from South Arabia under the name of Ma'din. The numerous booty taken from them, and comprising tents, sheep, and camels (2 Chron. 14 : 14), points in itself with necessity towards Arabia. This is confirmed by the fact that several Sabean priest-kings and a king of Saba have the very surname Zirrikh (more exactly, Dhirrih). The land of Kush referred to in the story of the paradise, around which the second river, Gikhon, flows, is of course also a part of Arabia. This leads us to another result very clearly set forth in the second volume of Glaser's sketch, the chapter on Paradise.

Upon the question where the ancient Semites located Paradise, Glaser gives us the surprising but well-founded answer, in the neighborhood of the confluence of the Euphrates and Tigris, on the Arabian side. There the sacred palm of the city of Eridu grew; there, according to the view of the ancient Arabs, the two large wadies of Central Arabia opened. The one is the Wady er-Rumma, or the Gaihân; and the other is the Wady ed-Dawâsir,—a side wady of which, in the neighborhood of Hamdâni, still bears the name of Faishân (Pishon). This region (the mountain of Mâshu) was also traversed by

Gishdubar[1] (Nimrod, who, perhaps, received his surname "the Kushite" from this fact), to reach the Isle of the Blessed. As I have formerly discussed this very subject in detail in the columns of The Sunday School Times (Vol. 33, No. 49), I now leave the question of Paradise, and also the second part of Glaser's sketch, containing many other interesting details, and turn, before I close this chapter, to the results of his fourth journey (September, 1892, to spring, 1894), as far as they have been published.

This last time also Glaser brought back a collection of original monuments equal in value to those of his former journeys (at present in the museums of Berlin and London). It has been sold meanwhile to Vienna, where it forms a treasure of the Court Museum.[2] By far the most important result obtained by Glaser's last journey is the numerous squeezes of larger inscriptions, taken from original monuments which could never be removed, and partly from districts never reached before by any European. For scientific purposes they have the same value as the originals, and it is only to be hoped that some scientific institute or museum may soon undertake their publication, and compensate financially, to some extent,

[1] On the basis of strong arguments now read Gilgamesh by most Assyriologists.—THE EDITOR.

[2] A general survey of the contents of the inscriptions on these stones was given by me at the last Oriental Congress in Geneva (September, 1894). I therefore refer to my paper in the Transactions of that congress.

the intrepid traveler who, for the attainment of his high aim, sacrificed health, energy, and a large amount of money.

Among these squeezes there are especially two groups of inscriptions which deserve our attention. For the first time we have the authentic text of the larger inscriptions of the Minean kings from the Gôf (Ma'în and Barâkish), which only now can be fully utilized for science, as Halévy's copies were mostly insufficient and incomplete. Secondly, we now possess about a hundred texts of an entirely new, and so far unknown, species of inscriptions; namely, Katabânian royal inscriptions, written in the Minean dialect. They are of the greatest importance for completing the picture which we can draw of the history and civilization of South Arabia. In the first volume of his sketch, shortly to be published, Glaser will draw the historical results from all the new material which we owe to his efforts. But the publication of the complete wording of all these inscriptions, and their exact paleographical reproduction, so essential for scientific purposes, will only take place after the squeezes have been sold.

Shall I, finally, express my own personal view on the importance of the total result to be gained, or already obtained, from an investigation of the Arabian inscriptions for the study of the Bible? It is my conviction that Arabia itself will furnish us the direct proofs that

the modern destructive criticism of the Pentateuch is absolutely erroneous. The age of the Minean inscriptions runs parallel with that of the so-called code of the priests. If the former are as old as Glaser believes them to be, and the Arabian civilization, as I have proved in the first part of the present sketch, already existed at the time of Abraham, then the laws of the priests of Israel are also very ancient. The best proofs for the historical accuracy of the Old Testament traditions come more and more from without, from the inscriptions of the surrounding nations. For this very reason every sum of money spent for Semitic epigraphy, whether for Assyro-Babylonian excavations, or for the purchase of squeezes of Minean, Katabânian, and Sabean inscriptions, is well invested.

THE HITTITES.

Hittite relief, with inscription, from a mound near Malatia, found May 23, 1894,
and now in the Imperial Museum at Constantinople.

THE HITTITES.

BY WILLIAM HAYES WARD, D.D., LL.D.

The question, Who were the Hittites? is one of interest to the student of the Bible, but equally so, or more so, to the student of history and civilization, since we now know that they were one of the important factors in the production of that civilization in which we have part. I say that in this civilization they have some part with us; for it is a fact that, with all the mighty originality of the Greek race, from which all true civilization has descended which the world has since seen, this civilization yet had its root in the imperfect civilizations—Egyptian, Babylonian, Phenician, Hittite—that preceded it. Out from the river Nile there go a thousand channels which carry fertility to all Egypt, and this distribution of its water is the practical value of the Nile with which the agriculturist is concerned; yet it is no foolish curiosity that makes us ask what far-distant lakes and branches contributed to produce that Nile. So the historian of civilization will not be satisfied to study Greece itself, and follow the course of its national development from

Solon to Pericles and the Parthenon, and thence follow the dividing streams of its influence all over the modern world; but he will ask what went before its recorded history, what combination of forces it was that gave impulse to the Hellenic people, what were the crude juices out of which the Greek ferment made wine.

Inasmuch as we inherit our civilization from Greece, when we ask what was the history, and what the art, of the Egyptians, the Babylonians, or the Hittites, we are asking of our own genealogical descent, and trying to trace our own intellectual ancestry back, not simply to the Greeks, but to those less gifted peoples whose imperfect civilization was the necessary condition of Greek development and accomplishment. The last problem that has arisen in this line of study—what we might almost call the latest fad of the archeologist—is that raised by the discovery that the Hittites, of whom we first learned from the Bible, once lived, not merely in Palestine, but occupied all that ancient cradle of humanity, Asia Minor, and came into the closest contact with the Greek races in that early Mycenean and Trojan period when the civilization of that marvelous people was forming.

In our search for our conclusions as to the race, language, history, and art of the Hittites, we have to go to five sources,—the Hebrew Scriptures, the Egyptian monuments, the Assyrian monuments, the Vannic monu-

ments, and the monuments of the Hittites themselves. We have space to consider each of these in but the briefest way before attempting to combine their several records and unite them in a connected whole.

IN THE OLD TESTAMENT.

The references to the Hittites in the Old Testament are incidental, and give little indication of the strength of the people at a time before the Israelites returned to Palestine from Egypt. Their ancestor, Heth, is mentioned in the genealogical table of Genesis 10 as if he were of no more importance than others of Canaan's ten sons. Sidon is mentioned first, as his first-born, then Heth, and after them the Jebusites, Amorites, and other coast tribes; and we are then told that Canaan's border was from Sidon to Gaza. This list makes the Hittites belong to the genealogical stock of the Cushites, and puts them in Palestine, which is a very restricted field; and, even though we know that some of the sons of Canaan, as the Arvadites, lived far beyond this limit, yet we would naturally gather that the Hittites were a small tribe, like the Perizzites, somewhere in Palestine. Such would also be concluded from the other references to Heth in Genesis. They are localized in Hebron, in South Palestine, where Abraham bought the grave for his wife from the sons of Heth. Rebekah feared that

Jacob would take a wife from the "daughters of Heth," who are in the same connection called "daughters of Canaan." In the time of Moses and Joshua the Hittites were still a small tribe, apparently, in Palestine, feebler than the Amorites, and in the list of conquered nations, as in that of the league which Jabin made against the invading Israelites, mentioned after the Canaanites and Amorites, and before the Perizzites and Jebusites.

Similarly in Ezekiel we seem to have a Palestinian Hittite people, where we are told that Jerusalem's father was an Amorite, and her mother a Hittite. But there is a hint of a larger Hittite people in Judges, where we are told that the man who betrayed the city of Luz to the Ephraimites went to the land of the Hittites. In David's time, Uriah, one of the king's chief soldiers, was a Hittite, and so was his friend Ahimelech; but they may have been Palestinian Hittites. But other suggestions that there was a larger land of the Hittites than that about Hebron we get where we are told of the foreign women whom Solomon took as wives,—Egyptians, Moabites, Ammonites, Edomites, Sidonians, and Hittites,—as if they lived beyond the Sidonians. And especially do we have in the story of Elisha a clear indication that the Hittites were a strong foreign people, where we are told that the Syrians fled away from their siege of Samaria because they heard a rumor that the king of Israel had hired against them the "kings of the

Hittites" and the kings of Egypt. This shows the Hittites to be a strong people, having a confederacy of cities, but gives no indication of their residence. In another passage "all the kings of the Hittites" are mentioned with "the kings of Syria," as those from whom Solomon's merchants bought horses. These were evidently no Palestinian Hittites; but the references to them are so incidental and vague that they received no attention until, from other sources, we learned that the main body of the Hittites did not live anywhere about Hebron, where Abraham found a remnant of them. An almost certain amendment of the Hebrew text gives one other mention of these northern Hittites. We are told that David's census-takers came to Gilead and "to the land of Tahtim Hodshi." The Septuagint tells us that for "Tahtim Hodshi" we should read "the Hittites of Kadesh."

From these various indications we learn that the biblical writers knew of a small Hittite tribe, or remnant, in Palestine; and we gather that there was also an entirely different body of Hittite peoples and kings to the north, having one of their seats at Kadesh, and another at a yet unknown town called Luz. But were it not for the discoveries on Egyptian and Assyrian monuments, the references in the Bible to the Hittites would have seemed obscure, and even contradictory.

ON THE EGYPTIAN MONUMENTS.

Our next, but chronologically much the earliest, source of information about the Hittites, is from the Egyptian monuments. I confine myself to the briefest synopsis of these records and the very valuable accompanying wall-pictures. We learn that the Hittites occupied the region northeast of Syria, and, later, Syria itself, during the eighteenth and nineteenth Egyptian dynasties. Thothmes I, about 1600 B. C., found no Hittites in Palestine or Syria. They are not mentioned as taking part in the great battle of Megiddo, fought by his successor, the mighty Thothmes III, whose armies reached the Euphrates, and conquered the people of Naharina, the biblical Mesopotamia, on its banks,—a people of whose history and art we wish to know much more. He did, however, hear of the great land of the Hittites, and their king sent him presents, not tribute. His land was beyond the reach of the conquests of Thothmes III. A fragmentary inscription of his grandson, Thothmes IV, has been thought to imply that his first campaign was directed against the Hittites, but that is probably an error. His son and successor, Amenophis III, entered into a matrimonial alliance with the king of Naharina, who was now, perhaps, a Hittite. His wife was a woman of very strong character, and brought with her a large retinue of attendants. Unlike the princess who not long

ago married the young Tsar of Russia, she kept her ancestral faith, the worship of the solar disk, which appears to have been a sort of monotheism,—at any rate a purer worship than that of Egypt. Her son, Amenophis IV, followed his mother's religion, and is called the heretic king. This excited the hostility of priests and people, and the rebellions resulted in the weakening of the power of Egypt and the loss of its Syrian conquests, and almost the loss of its hold on Palestine and Phenicia.

Accordingly, Rameses I, the head of the nineteenth dynasty, found himself compelled to enter into a treaty of peace with the great king of the Hittites, named Sapalel, and to recognize him as a ruler of equal rank with himself. At this time the Hittites, as we learn from the letters written from Phenicia to Amenophis IV, lately found at Tel el-Amarna, had come down into Syria, and they had also taken possession of the whole middle banks of the Euphrates, about Carchemish. It was from this region, and from what was at this time the Hittite town of Pethor, that the pagan conjuror Balaam came somewhat later to curse the children of Israel, whom Moses had led as far as the land of Moab, on their way to Canaan.

But the Egyptian power was now rising to its last great culmination in the reign of Sety I, and his greater son Rameses II, who enjoyed a reign of sixty years. He fought his most glorious battles with the king of the

Hittites at Kadesh on the Orontes River, where he performed prodigies of personal valor, the record of which he put in hieroglyphs and in pictures on the walls of his temples. The great poem of Pentaour makes a real Iliad of this story, dwelling long on the incident, if we may credit it, when the king was entangled alone in his chariot, among the Hittite chariots, and fought his way out by himself, with the sole help of his god. The temples of Karnak and Abu-Simbel are covered with the illustration of the battle before Kadesh, when the Hittites were driven into the Orontes, which flowed about their capital, and were drowned in its waters. But somehow the wars of Rameses II ended in a treaty of peace between the Egyptians and Hittites as equal powers. The Hittites held possession of their own territory, which adjoined the Egyptian satrapies in Palestine and Syria. Their renewed friendship was again cemented by marriage, and the treaty was recorded on a silver plate in the Hittite language. The peace lasted many years, until the next invasion of Egypt by confederate nations, when the Hittites were drawn into the league.

It is chiefly from the campaigns of Rameses II that we know the Hittites in their early history. We find them first, about 1600 B. C., somewhere beyond the extreme reach of the conquests of Thothmes III, and so nowhere in Syria, nor near the middle Euphrates. We watch their descent into this fertile region during the troublous

times about the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth dynasty, when they captured all Syria, and made them a strong capital at Kadesh. They are figured by their Egyptian enemies as having a yellow skin,—not red, like the Egyptians, nor even the lighter red of the Syrian tribes of Palestine, nor the white of the blue-eyed Amorites, but a light yellow. Their face is protuberant, and they wear their hair long, with a queue. They are not a handsome people, with their protruding nose and retreating forehead and chin, their unshorn hair falling behind, and their beardless face. It is not the easiest thing in the world to say whether this means that they really were beardless, or that for reasons of cleanliness they cut or shaved their beards, and most of their heads, with a view to the same protection against insect pests which made it necessary for the long-bearded Jewish priests and kings to keep their heads anointed with oil. We remember that Greek art generally represents its young heroes as beardless. A bearded Apollo or Mars is not usual. And yet it is most likely, considering color and physiognomy, that the Hittite figures pictured by the artists of Rameses II represent a comparatively beardless race, like American Indians or the Chinese. They could hardly have belonged to a Syrian or to any Semitic type, and they most approach a Mongolian type.

ON THE CUNEIFORM MONUMENTS.

Next we come to the Assyrian monuments. The Assyrian records follow on where the Egyptian leave us, with an interval of less than fifty years; for we may discard, as a late interpolation, the mention of the Hittites in an ancient book of omens attributed to Sargon I about 3800 B. C. We first find them in the annals of Tiglath-Pileser I, who reigned 1110 B. C. He found the Hittites in their own apparently ancestral territory in Commagene and Cappadocia, just west of the Euphrates in its northern course, and fought many battles with them, although he did not venture to attack their southern and nearer capital, Carchemish, on the Euphrates. It is not easy to say just what was their northern capital, there are so many Hittite cities attacked, and at one time and another captured, in Commagene and Cappadocia. With varying success the Assyrian kings continued their long series of wars, lasting four hundred years, until, B. C. 717, under King Sargon, second of the name, Carchemish was captured, and the Hittite power in the south came to an end, although for a century or two longer the northern Hittites may have lingered as a feeble remnant. From this time the region once held by the Hittites was ruled first by the Assyrians, and then by the Babylonians of the second empire; and these were succeeded by the Persians, after which came the Greek domination under Alexander. At

717 B. C., less than forty years after the founding of Rome, more than a hundred and fifty years before the Lydian empire of Crœsus and the Persian empire of Cyrus; a hundred and fifty years before the death of Solon, the primitive lawgiver of Athens; and less than a hundred after the date assigned to Lycurgus, the lawgiver of Sparta, who consolidated the customs of the Dorian invaders,—the Hittite empire had ceased to exist. At this time the Æolian and Ionian people who had escaped from Greece at the time of the Dorian invasion had established flourishing colonies, which were confined to the shores of the Mediterranean and Black seas and the adjacent islands, but they had not penetrated into the interior any more than did the Phenician traders. There was no developed Greek civilization as yet, although, under the spirit of liberty fostered in the colonies, a new life had begun to give promise of its great future.

The Assyrian art gives us many representations of sieges and battles with the Hittites, especially in the elaborate pictures of the campaigns of Shalmaneser II, in the ninth century B. C., found on the remarkable bronze gates of Balawat. But they give us no help by which to judge of the race of the Hittites. The fact is that the Assyrians were by no means so good artists as the Egyptians, and they knew how to draw only one type of face, the difference being little more than the length of the hair and beard, and the style of the headdress. They never

drew their foes beardless or with a queue. One cannot tell from the physiognomy they give whether one is of the Semitic or Mongolian stock. They had not the least power of portraiture. We have to look to other evidence for an ethnological conclusion.

One other very imperfect source of foreign information we have as to the Hittites, and that is from their immediate neighbors to the east, the people then living in Armenia about the Lake of Van, and who were called Vannai. They were themselves of a Mongolian stock, and their language was Mongolian, although written in Assyrian characters which they borrowed from their southern neighbors. They give us the scanty records of kings of the ninth and eighth centuries before our era. Two kings of Van, Menuas and his son Argistis, conducted campaigns to the west, which carried them to the land of the Hittites, in a district called Alzi, where were the cities Surisilis and Tarkhigamas, belonging to a Hittite prince called Sudahalis. The regions of Malatiyeh and Palu are mentioned; and we judge that the land of the Hittites, invaded by these Vannic kings, stretched along the upper course of the Euphrates.

Thus briefly may be recorded the story of this mysterious people, as it is told us in fragments by their neighbors of Palestine, Egypt, Assyria, and Armenia, with whom they were at war. They first appeared about

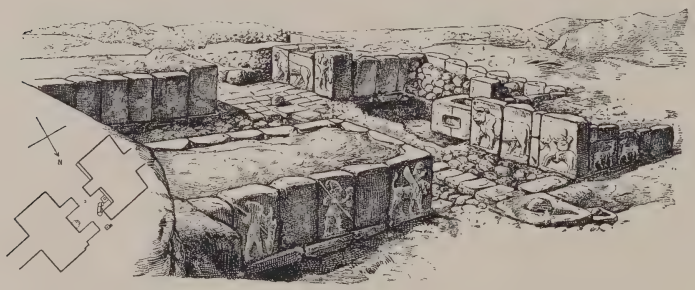
1600 B. C., having invaded Syria and Palestine from the far north, rose to a strength equal to that of Egypt itself, became mixed with the predominant Syrian Semitic population, and disappeared nine hundred years later when Sargon destroyed their last stronghold. We have found two of their chief strongholds,—the earlier western capital at Kadesh, on an island in the Orontes River; and the eastern and larger capital at Carchemish on the western bank of the Euphrates, where it bends farthest to the west,—yet neither of these capitals in their ancestral home.

THEIR OWN MONUMENTS.

Having taken a brief review of what the records of other nations, the Hebrews, the Egyptians, the Assyrians, and the ancient Armenians, have to tell us about the Hittites, we now turn to the monuments of the Hittites themselves.

The great embarrassment in this part of the study comes from the fact that the inscriptions in the Hittite characters and language, which are fairly abundant, have not yet been deciphered. The first of them known to scholars were on four stones found in Hamath, not far north from Palestine. In 1873, in the Second Statement of the American Palestine Exploration Society, I published exact copies of these four inscriptions, made from admirable casts and squeezes taken by Professor John A.

Paine, who was at that time the archeologist of that society at work in the field, and gave a list of the characters, and proved in what direction they were to be read. From that time to this there has been a rapid series of discoveries of Hittite monuments, both bas-reliefs and inscriptions. They cover the regions in which the historical sources already considered describe the Hittites as living, and they extend that territory considerably in



Ground-plot and perspective view of the gate of the castle excavated at Senjirli.

Asia Minor. The old southern Hittite capital at Kadesh has never yet been explored, and no remains have been found there, but Hamath is near by. A French explorer carried on some excavations in the island within the lake of Kadesh during the year 1894, but without satisfactory results. The remains of prehistoric walls were found, but farther labor here and on a neighboring mound is desired. Scores of Hittite remains have been found in the neighborhood of Aintab and Marash, just inland over the mountains from the Tarsus

of St. Paul. These are nearly all in a black basaltic stone, and in low relief. In this same neighborhood two mounds, Senjirli and Gerjin, have been excavated, and there have been discovered lines of bas-reliefs, giving hunting scenes, and figures of gods, unmistakably Hittite. With them, however, are also some remarkable Assyrian inscriptions, and a large figure of the Assyrian king Esarhaddon, recording his victories. With them also are figures and inscriptions, in an ancient Phenician character and in a language much like the Phenician and Hebrew, which record the history of kings whom we may call Aramean, and of the eighth century B.C. That is, we have here the evidence of Aramean race and culture which seem to have succeeded the Hittite, or perhaps to have been coeval with it. This is but the briefest account of the discoveries made by German explorers in Hittite Cilicia.

Another great center of Hittite remains is at Carchemish, now called Jerabis, on the west bank of the farthest bend westward of the Euphrates. Here is a very large mound, which has been slightly excavated, and in which are series of bas-reliefs in the usual style of the time, and with many Hittite inscriptions, on both black basalt and alabaster. From the fineness of the work, which equals the best Assyrian, we should judge them to be as late as the eighth or ninth century B.C.,—that is, about the time of the sculptures of Senjirli.

We now go farther to the north, far within the depths of eastern Asia Minor, to the ruins of Boghaz-keui and Euyuk, where we find important Hittite remains on the spot which the Greeks called Pterion. Here we seem to be at the original seat and capital of the Hittites, from which they went to conquer the south beyond Carchemish, once even capturing Nineveh, and to the west to Syria and Palestine. The Egyptian kings in their wars never reached this fortress of the great Hittites. It was, however, probably captured by the Assyrians, although we do not know under what name. At Euyuk are the remains of a considerable city, while at Boghaz-keui, near by, are long lines of sculptures on the cliff which forms a sort of gorge by which was the entrance to the capital. There are long processions of warriors and gods, holding standards; and very remarkable is a figure of a two-headed eagle.

All these remains belong to the recognized Hittite region, such as we know it from Assyrian and Egyptian monuments. But this is not all. Three important rock sculptures are found as far to the west as the neighborhood of Sardis and Smyrna, almost to the farthest extreme of Asia Minor. These were well known to the Greeks, one of them being called the weeping Niobe, while Herodotus supposes another to represent the Egyptian Sesostris, who never reached this region. They are on the side of cliffs, are in the regular Hittite

style, and are accompanied by unmistakable Hittite hieroglyphs. They prove that the Hittite power and influence did extend at one time or another over the whole of Asia Minor, unless it be the northern edge on the Black Sea. Scattered Hittite sculptures are found at twenty other places.

One other source of information supplied by the Hittites themselves must be mentioned,—their engraved seals, of which scores are known, some containing Hittite characters, and others figures of their gods. They are a large addition to our knowledge of their art and mythology, but it is difficult to determine their age or locality.

So-called Hittite seal.

Before further examining the Hittite remains so cursorily mentioned for the answer they may supply to the Hittite problem, let us consider what must have been the condition of Asia Minor at the time when the Hittites were in power. We want to know what was the population of Asia Minor from 1000 to 2000 B.C. Was it Aryan, Mongolian, or Semitic?

THE RACE.

A great deal depends on the answer to the question From what region came the earlier migrations of the Aryan race, and where did it originate? The first great

Aryan migration that we know of into Europe was that which carried the ancestors of the Celts, Italians, and Greeks, into southern Europe. They came into the peninsulas of Greece and Italy from the north, but it is not wholly certain what part of Europe or Asia they came from. Dr. Jebb and others assume that the later Thessalian and Dorian invaders of Greece came from Phrygia, in the neighboring western parts of Asia Minor, and that they crossed the Dardanelles into Europe. There is more probability in the later views that they rather came, with their light skin and yellow hair and blue eyes, from the colder forest-clad north. That is the Aryan type which has been darkened by mixture of blood with other pre-existing races. Every Aryan invasion of Asia Minor that we know of, from the Ionians to the Galatians, has been from Europe, and none to Europe is certainly known. The only apparent exception is the present Armenians, who probably came into their present territory about 500 to 400 B.C., or later, but most likely coming south from European Russia between the Black Sea and the Caspian. So far as we can see, it is not likely that any Aryan race, speaking an Aryan language, can have inhabited Asia Minor, except on the coasts near Greece, before 1000 B.C.[1] We certainly know of none.

[1] Among those who hold a different view from that expressed by Dr. Ward may be mentioned Professor D. G. Brinton, in Vol. XXXIV (April 19, 1895) of the Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society.—THE EDITOR.

But the Hittites occupied a part of this territory as far back, at least, as 1400 B.C., and probably long before. It is then probable that they were not Aryans, and to this conclusion the Egyptian pictures of them agree. They give us a short, stout race, with yellow skin, black hair, protuberant face, retreating forehead, beardless, and often wearing a queue. This is Mongolian, apparently. It is true that the Assyrian pictures do not resemble the Egyptian. They figure the Hittites as a short-headed people, often with laced boots turned up at the toes, but with features not differing from those of Syrians, Arabians, or Elamites. Indeed, the Assyrian artists seem to have been able to draw but one style of face, varying only in the length of the beard and the shape of the headdress. They have no beardless men, only beardless women and eunuchs.

Captive Hittite prince.

But here the Hittite art itself aids us. As the Hittites drew their own figure, it is short, stout, and with much of the ugly protuberant profile that we find given in Egyptian drawing, and often beardless. The features

are not Semitic, nor are they Aryan. They agree much better with a Mongolian type. When we add to this the fact that the proper names of persons and cities resist the attempt to reduce them to Semitic triliterals or to Aryan roots, we may fairly conclude that they belong to a people who spoke one of that conglomerate of languages which has been called Turanian, which were spoken by the Mongolian peoples, now represented by Turcomans rather than Chinese.[1] This conclusion is confirmed by the fact that their next neighbors to the east, the people of what was afterwards called Armenia, have left us written records in cuneiform characters but in a Turanian language. When we also recall that two of the cuneiform letters found at Tel el-Amarna are as yet untranslatable because written in a Turanian[2] language, and that they came from a country on the

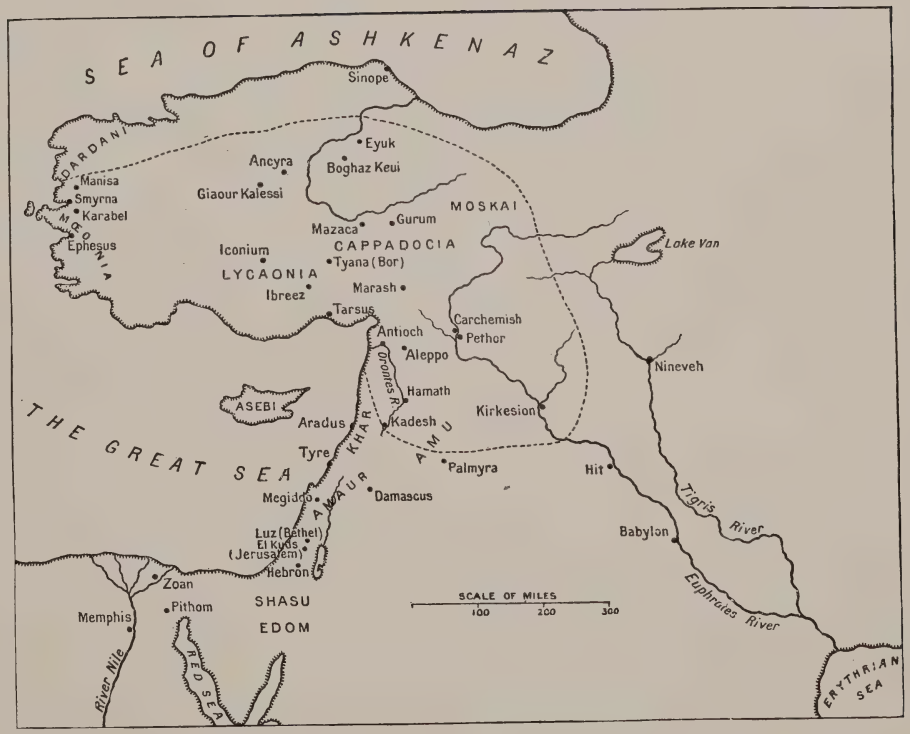
[1] It must not be forgotten, however, that, so far, we know only a few words of the so-called Hittite language proper, and most of these words can be connected with Old Armenian words without difficulty. It is true, all the proper names known to us do not necessarily indicate either Semitic or Aryan relation; in fact, in most cases no satisfactory explanation has been offered at all. But it is also true that they do not show any linguistic connection with any of the Ural-Altaic languages with which Dr. Ward would associate them.—THE EDITOR.

[2] Dr. Ward apparently broadly assumes that what is not Semitic or Aryan is Turanian or Mongolian. The language of these cuneiform tablets above referred to cannot yet be fully analyzed. All that we can safely say about its grammar is that it *seems* to admit of a *remote* relation between the language in question and Sumerian and Elamitic; even certain words would admit of a comparison with Sumerian words, but also with Egyptian, Semitic, and Indo-European words. There are many possibilities, and, accordingly, various views held by the different scholars.—THE EDITOR.

Euphrates at the time probably ruled by Hittites, we have almost conclusive evidence that the Hittites were themselves Mongolians, speaking a Turanian tongue. They belonged to that great primitive, or next to primitive, Mongolian stock, represented by Iberians and Basques in Europe, by the old Elamites and Sumerians of Media and Babylonia, and by successive waves of barbaric invasions, the last of which was seen in Europe when the Turks were repulsed from the walls of Vienna, and whose invasion in the times of the Huns left a terrible memory, when the populous north poured them forth

> "From her frozen loins to pass
> Rhene or the Danaw, when her barbarous sons
> Came like a deluge on the south, and spread
> Beneath Gibraltar to the Libyan sands."

These Mongolian Hittites, speaking a barbarous tongue, now probably quite lost, although Paul heard it in Lystra of Lycaonia, had their first home in the mountainous region of Cappadocia, in central Asia Minor. They spread about, probably eastward toward Armenia, certainly westward to Lydia and the coast near Sardis, and south over Commagene, and over Mesopotamia as far south, at least, as the mouth of the Habor or Araxes River. This great fertile plain watered by the Habor, where was Haran, the stopping-place of Abraham, the home of Laban, and the later famous cities of Edessa



Map of the Hittite region.

and Nisibis, was all theirs, and even Nineveh was at one time taken by them, and its gods carried captive. This was at least as far back as 1200 B.C. About this time they took all of Syria, and their southern capitals were Carchemish and Hamath. Meanwhile their great central capital was in Cappadocia, in the region of the classical Pterion, where its ruins are found. At this time the predominant state in Asia was Babylonia, which ruled Assyria, and had occupied Syria and Palestine. An Elamite dynasty, that of the Kassites, now ruled Babylonia; and, of course, Babylonian culture spread to their territory, carried by all the currents of trade,—for Babylonia supplied the world.

WRITING AND LANGUAGE.

It was the extension of their conquests to Syria that brought the Hittites into contact and conflict with Egypt, and that profoundly affected their civilization and art. They gave something to Egypt, gods and queens, but they received more. The winged disk was adored in Egypt, but the Hittites received it, put it on their monuments over their kings, dropped the asps, and made it a finer, nobler emblem of the supreme God, and passed it over to the Assyrians; and then returned it to Egypt as the one God of the heretic king Khu-n-Aten. We may believe that whatever remains we have

of Hittite art date from after the period of Egyptian influence. All their art, though with peculiar features, yet shows the influence of both Babylonia and Egypt. We can hardly doubt that the Hittite script had its origin in an imitation of the Egyptian hieroglyphics. In the time of Rameses II they engraved on an oblong silver plate, in their own language, the text of their treaty with Egypt; and probably their system of hieroglyphics was invented some time in the two or three centuries before that, but after they first came in contact with Egypt. We have had in our own country one famous example of a Cherokee chief who invented a system of writing out of an imperfect understanding of how the English is written; and a similar African system was created. Possibly some Hittite merchant traveling in Egypt, or some soldier in an early confederacy against Egypt, or perhaps some Hittite genius at home, who had seen how the Egyptian soldiers sent back accounts of their battles, determined himself to construct a similar system for his own people. It was an independent system, utterly unlike the Egyptian or any other. We can learn something of the people from the characters used.

They wrote almost always in raised, not incised, letters, on stone or silver. This is very strange, and peculiar to them. Then they wrote downwards, from top to bottom like the Egyptians and early Babylonians, and the

Chinese, but only three or four characters thus vertically, when they began again. Thus their writing is in horizontal lines, consisting of a succession of short vertical columns of hieroglyphs. This, again, is peculiar and original. Then they write *boustrophedon*, which means as the ox turns forward and backward in plowing. The characters first go one way, all facing in one direction, and then turn about in the next line and face in the other direction. This also is peculiar, but was later the practice of the earliest Greek inscriptions, the style probably borrowed from the Hittites. The old Egyptians did not write *boustrophedon*, neither did the Babylonians nor the Phenicians. It was a rude Hittite trick which the Greeks soon dropped.

The Hittite characters differ very much from the Egyptian. There are no lions or other wild beasts such as we should expect in a warm country. There are heads of oxen, goats, and hares. There are snowshoes and mittens. The study of the two hundred known characters suggests their origin in such a cold and mountainous country as is Cappadocia. Mountains themselves appear in their alphabet. These hieroglyphs have been found all the way from Carchemish to Smyrna, and are proof, with the accompanying sculptures, that one culture, if not one language, prevailed through all the region from Nineveh to the coasts opposite Greece. We must believe that as early as 1000 B.C., and we

know not how much earlier, the Hittites were the prevailing people in Asia Minor, and that they ruled it in the Pelasgic or Mycenean period, and at just the time when the Greeks were awakening to intellectual life, and were planting their maritime colonies all about the coast. More than this, the Hittites probably had something to do with the Greek alphabet. I have said that the Greeks probably learned from the Hittites to write *boustrophedon*, but that could have been only when they were just adopting the Phenician letters. From the Phenicians the Greeks took all but their last five letters. Where did those five come from? If not from their neighbors the Hittites, we do not know whence. Greeks quite as far off, the people of Cyprus, had got a curious syllabary of their own, which was almost certainly borrowed from the Hittites. Probably the last five Greek letters came from the same source, as did certain other obscure scripts of Asia Minor.

The reading of the Hittite inscriptions is the great puzzle now before Oriental scholars. The way is not yet clear to its achievement, although we cannot doubt it will yet be accomplished, just as soon as we can discover a bilingual inscription of any length, perhaps before, for the cuneiform Persian was deciphered without the aid of a bilingual. The trouble is that the language is probably neither Semitic nor Aryan; and such languages differ so utterly in their roots that the knowledge

of one hardly offers any clew to the decipherment of another. The most extraordinary hypotheses have been offered. Several enthusiasts have given full translations, but utterly imaginative. The language has been called Aryan, Turanian, and Semitic. It has been put into every possible family by good scholars and bad. All we can conclude is that neither Jensen[1] is right, who is the latest scholar to make it Aryan, nor Halévy, who makes it Semitic; much less those who find a key in the Mayan or Peruvian of America, or the Japanese. First Lenormant tried to find clews from some clay impressions of Hittite seals found in Nineveh, and then Sayce got a more hopeful clew in the short bilingual of Tarkondemos, and in a comparison of certain Cypriote characters. Yet we must admit that thus far only a very few characters are plausibly identified, and no sentence can be read, nor even a proper name. Professor Sayce says he has tried every possible and impossible combination

[1] The Editor holds the opposite view. Ever since Professor Jensen published his deciphering in the columns of The Sunday School Times (March 25 and April 1, 1893), and in Vol. XLVIII of the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, he has been convinced of the correctness of Jensen's method and principal results. The relation claimed by Jensen for the language of the monuments in question with Old Armenian he also regards as an established fact. For various reasons, however, he prefers to retain the name *Hittite* (coined by Wright and Sayce) or *Khatish* (Jensen), as over against the proposed term *Cilician* (Jensen). Of European scholars who more recently expressed a view in favor of Jensen's decipherment, Schwally (in *Theologische Literaturzeitung*), 1895, No. 11, coll. 273-276, may be mentioned.—THE EDITOR.

that has come to his mind, and that, until we can discover a bilingual text of some length, we shall not be able to read any connected Hittite text phonetically; although, thanks to the employment of ideograms, it may be possible to get a general idea of the signification of an inscription.

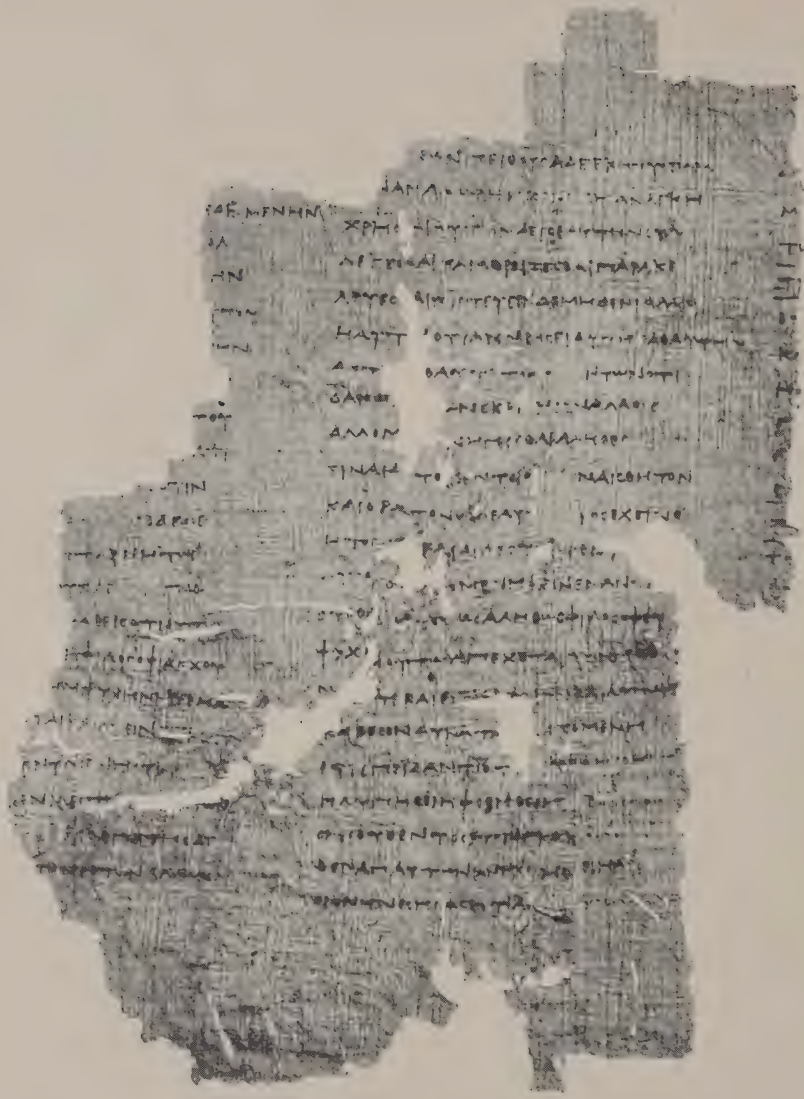
We must look upon these Hittites who ruled Asia Minor as a people with a vigorous genius. They had a peculiar art which has given something to the world, and was a valuable teacher of Greece. The famous lions of Mycenæ were borrowed from the Hittites, and similar lions facing each other are found in Hittite Asia and on the Hittite seals. What is called the *guilloche*, or rope pattern, is first met on Hittite seals, and thence passed to Greece, and is common now in ornament. The Hittites loved it, as Ruskin says the Greeks loved triglyphs, and of the two I prefer the rope pattern. The Greek forms of the sphinx came rather from the Hittites than from Egypt, and so did the harpies and chimeras. The two-headed eagle of the Hittites became the standard of the Seljukian Turks, and afterwards of the Austrians and Russians. The Hittites were a mediating influence between Babylonia and Assyria, Egypt, Greece, and Europe. Diana of the Ephesians was probably a Hittite goddess. The Amazons seem to have been Hittite priestesses. Dionysus and his panther were copied from a Hittite god. The Hittites were the early tutors of the

Greeks in writing and sculpture. But the masters, the intermediaries, passed away, and were forgotten; and when the Greeks went to Sardis they saw the Hittite god and goddess on the cliff, and they called the one Sesostris and the other Niobe. Similarly, every one forgot that the Hittites even reached Palestine, and that the wife of a Hittite was an ancestress of our Lord. All we know of them has been recovered since the first Hittite inscriptions were published in this country in 1872.

But one ancient Hittite mound has yet been examined with any care, that at Senjirli. Half of that ancient city has been carefully excavated. In it is a settled date, in the eighth century B.C., for its art and inscriptions. The art is late in style, and the inscriptions are Aramean and in raised letters, the style copied from the Hittite writing. Older art, apparently five hundred years older, is found, with the physiognomy wonderfully resembling the Egyptian figures of the Hittites of the twelfth and thirteenth century B.C. Senjirli provides us inscriptions in the old Hittite and the later Assyrian and Aramean. Perhaps in the unexcavated portion the desired bilingual is preserved, and awaits the spade. If not there, then in Kadesh or Carchemish, or in Boghaz-keui, where a French explorer has just found some cuneiform inscriptions, not yet published. M. Chantre says these inscriptions are partly in the later Persian cuneiform, and partly in an unknown language. But

being cuneiform, they can at least be read, which is one step towards their being translated, and we cannot doubt that their language is Hittite. He says that he finds that the ruins of the neighboring capital of Euyuk are Pelasgic, which, if true, will not surprise us by connecting the Hittites with the earliest civilization of Greece, Italy, Cyprus, and the whole seacoast, on which the civilization of the later Hellenic invaders was engrafted. It is now the decided tendency of scholars to connect the Hittite civilization, and perhaps language, with those of the long nebulous Pelasgic of Greek tradition. A large and learned volume by the Jesuit De Cara has just been published, entitled, "Gli Hethei-Pelasgi," devoted to showing the identity of the two. A large collection of Mycenæan or supposed Pelasgic objects of pottery from Cyprus is in the Metropolitan Museum at New York, as well as half a dozen specimens of Hittite sculpture. We are on the eve of great discoveries in the early history of the world, which only await the enterprise of the spade, and the spade only awaits the enterprise of wealth intelligent enough to set it at work.

EARLY GREEK MANUSCRIPTS FROM EGYPT.



Fragment of the Phædo of Plato.

EARLY GREEK MANUSCRIPTS FROM EGYPT.

BY PROFESSOR J. P. MAHAFFY, D.D., D.C.L.

In attempting to give a general survey of the kind of documentary evidence upon which our Greek books, and therefore our knowledge of Greek language and literature, depend, I must first seek what division or divisions this vast and complicated subject will admit. If we wish to call it by its official name, it is Greek paleography; and we had better sever it at once from the very kindred Egyptian and Latin paleographies, for, as the earliest Greek manuscripts we possess are often found together with Egyptian documents, written, not only on the same materials, but even on the same sheet, so the medieval monks, who copied for us many Greek books, were often men who wrote Latin, and even sometimes scratched or rubbed out a Greek text to write a Latin over it upon the same page. This is what is called a palimpsest.

There was a day when Greek paleography had its battle to fight; for about the year 1600 the Jesuit Huet, who found that a large number of charters and titles to

property had been forged by the monks for their own advantage, began to suspect all so-called ancient manuscripts, and even went so far as to assert that all our Greek classics were forgeries of the middle ages. He must have had a very great idea of the genius of these obscure copyists, or a very small sense of literary excellence, when he thought them competent to compose Homer or Thucydides! Still, in those days Greek paleography had to seek for evidence that some of the extant manuscripts, especially of the Holy Scriptures, were older than the monks, and so beyond suspicion.

The task of paleography is now changed. We have ample evidence of antiquity; we rather seek so to distinguish the small peculiarities of ancient handwritings as to tell their age approximately when the writer has affixed no note of his own time. And this we can do with wonderful certainty, because almost every century has its own hand so distinctly that even the man who attempts to copy older fashions can easily be detected by his want of freedom. Years ago I was shown, in the great library at Naples, a manuscript of this kind, apparently of the tenth century. After a few minutes' examination, though I had never before seen such a thing, I told the librarian that it seemed to me a careful copy of an old hand by a laborious scribe of later date. He was surprised, but then showed me, what he had intended to conceal, a note at the end dated 1450, show-

ing that my guess was correct. This anecdote is quoted to show that the freedom of the hand, as well as the shape of the letters, must be carefully estimated by the paleographer. By using a good microscope, unsteadiness of lines will become apparent which escape the naked eye; and this is now well known to those who have studied the detection of forgeries in criminal cases.

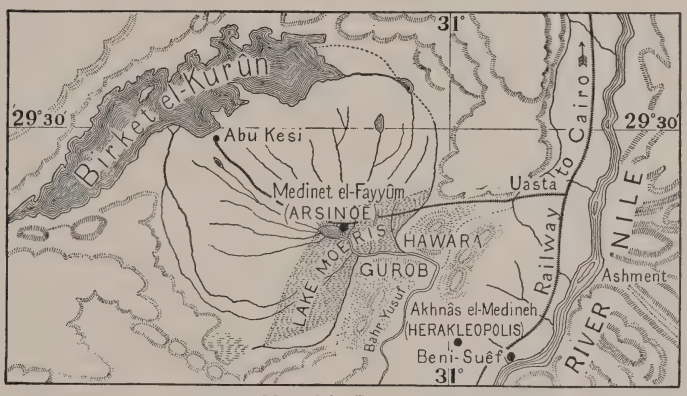
But to return to our division. It is very convenient, on account of a curious gap in our evidence about the first centuries B.C. and A.D., to divide our studies of Greek paleography into those of manuscripts before the Christian era and those after it. When we come to the second period, we shall naturally separate them into sacred and profane, the studies of the former being much more complete and satisfactory than those of the latter. As regards the gap, or want of manuscripts in our collections, affecting the period from, say, 60 B.C. to A.D. 100, it is a mere accident, which may be—nay, which will be—filled up gradually by further discoveries. The remaining charred rolls from Herculaneum, now lying in the museum of Naples, and only occasionally subjected, one by one, to the delicate process of unrolling, would give us additional specimens of that date; for though we have found there books written long before the destruction of the town (79 A.D.), there must be others which were then quite recent, such as are the tracts of the philosopher Philodemus about music and

other subjects. For that Epicurean writer was not only alive at the time, but probably living in the very house where the library was found.

We turn, then, to the manuscripts of the time before Christ, premising that manuscripts differ from inscriptions in being on papyrus, parchment, or paper, while the latter are on stone, metal, or wood, and almost all cut in, not written on the surface. The crowd of inscriptions painted in red on the walls of the temples of Dakkeh and Kalabsheh in Nubia are an intermediate thing, but they are of little importance from a literary point of view, and are usually, and rightly, reckoned among inscriptions. So are the numerous accounts, etc., written on potsherds or fragments of limestone. We have thousands of them painted on such terra cotta or stone surface in Coptic or in Greek. But these also, both on account of the patinal and on account of their non-literary character, are commonly classed among inscriptions. But of manuscripts all our oldest are upon papyrus, of which the nature and manufacture has been often described. This excellent writing-material keeps forever in a dry climate, and can even be thoroughly soaked in water for a time without danger to the texture or the writing upon it, which recover again, when dried, their former condition.

Among the extant papyri in Egyptian writing,—hieroglyphic or hieratic,—we have some enormously old

specimens of the "Book of the Dead," and even of moral treatises,—2000 B.C. is not an extravagant age to assign to the oldest of these wonderful books. In Greek, however, we have no manuscript older (for certain) than the Greek occupation of Egypt by Alexander,—say, than 330 B.C. From this time (approximately) we had only one document, the so-called "Imprecation of Artemisia,"



Map of the Fayyûm.

now preserved at Vienna, in which a forsaken woman invokes the vengeance of Oserapis upon the man who has deserted her and her child. The lapidary character of the writing—that is to say, its likeness to much older inscriptions—decided the learned to place it in the fourth century B.C. But since the Petrie papyri from Gurob in the Fayyûm came to light, which I had the privilege to decipher and publish, the whole case is altered. In that unique collection of fragments there are some stray

pages of the Greek classics,—two or three from the "Phædo" and from the "Laches" of Plato, and one from the "Antiope" of Euripides, which were at once acknowledged as of the same early date as the "Imprecation." But these were book hands, very neat and small, and in capitals, not in the cursive hand of every-day business papers.

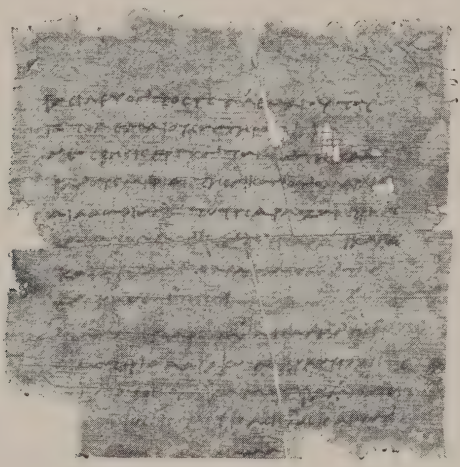
These very interesting book hands—there are three of them, with small but distinct peculiarities in each—are specimens of the type of Greek books prepared and sold by booksellers at and before 300 B. C. They are, as I have said, written in small and separate capitals, and are the ancient precursors, not only of our manuscripts of the Greek Bible, but of the printed books of the present day. For we know now that the cursive hand of the third century B. C. was very different, almost as different as are our handwritings from a printed page.

Among the Petrie papyri were many fragments of private letters, petitions, complaints to officials, minutes of business, accounts,—all of which date from about the middle of the third century (265-235 B. C.), which give us very complete evidence of the average writing, at least in Greek Egypt, at that day. And as the Greek population had come together from the four winds of the Hellenistic world, and represented the culture of every Greek city, from Athens and Sparta down to the remotest Greek or Macedonian colony, we have good reason to believe that

in the rest of the Greek-speaking world, conditions of writing were not dissimilar. Even since the publication of the Petrie papyri, another great business paper has come to light, which I may here describe more closely, as it is the largest Greek papyrus ever yet found, as its date is the oldest of any business document we have, and as it has not yet been published; so that my readers will have the benefit of its novelty as well as its curiousness. In the near future, Mr. Grenfell (of Queen's College, Oxford) and I hope to publish it; then it will be the common property of all. But now it is still in our hands, undergoing, or, rather, making us undergo, the labor of piecing together the tattered scraps, guessing at the missing letters, supplying the gaps, and endeavoring to make a consistent and intelligible thing out of it. Had it come to us whole, the labor would not have been great; for the writing is in the large official cursive hands of the period just named, and, though it requires practise to make it out, and an ordinary Greek scholar from college would doubtless stare at it as hopeless, a few months' habit of reading the former Petrie papyri, or the autotypes of them, removes most of the difficulty.

The date was at first mistaken, as it required some conjecture to fill in missing letters. But now we know for certain that it was written out in the twenty-seventh year of King Ptolemy Philadelphus, the best known of the dynasty, and therefore dates from 258 B. C. The

document, which is about forty-four feet long, was rolled up pretty tight, found by some native doubtless in a jar in the Fayyûm, and sold to Mr. Petrie. Unfortunately the roll, which was exceedingly dry and brittle, had been



Commercial document, 257 B. C.

broken across in the middle, very likely in the struggle to secure it among the finders; for these people now know the money value of old papyri. So we have now a gap in the middle of each column,—there being seventy-two columns, side by side, so that the reader, unrolling with the right hand, and rolling up with the left, could always have a column before him, the writing being, of course, at right angles with the length, or across the roll from top to bottom. In two or three places this

note is added, "Look outside;" and when you turn over the roll, you find on the back a sentence or two amplifying what is said in the text. The whole of it concerns the farming of taxes. This state device is now almost unknown in the civilized West. It was universal among the Hellenistic monarchies, and passed from them to the Romans, as my readers well know from many allusions in the New Testament. We have something not unlike it in the present concession of the Sultan to his European bondholders to levy some of the taxes in Turkey, in order to pay the interest on the money lent by them to the Sultan. But its real importance in old Egyptian days lay in the fact that the king was regarded as the real proprietor of all the lands in his kingdom, so that all private owners owed him a rent in kind from their produce. To estimate and to collect such a tax in wine, oil, wheat, dates, figs, cattle, was an enormous affair; for, after discovering the amount and obtaining it, it had to be brought to market and sold, unless it could be stored (as wheat was) for the feeding of a garrison in the king's pay. Hence the crown fell into the habit of making a contract with a private person to receive a rent from him, and give him authority to claim, exact, and sell, all the produce of a certain district. This was the Greek *telones*, or buyer of taxes (at a public state auction), the *publicanus* of the Romans,—a most unpopular and usually oppressive person, but necessary to the ancient mon-

archies, and liable to bankruptcy, as well as to the chance of making a large fortune by the profits which the state allowed him. How oppressive these imposts were in the age of which we are treating, will appear from the curious letters from two rival Syrian kings to Jews, quoted both by Josephus and in that excellent historical document the first Book of Maccabees.[1]

This is the condition of things elucidated by the new papyrus. But never yet have we had such minute detail about the management of this sort of tax. When Josephus tells us of his early namesake, who obtained from the third Ptolemy the farming of the taxes of Palestine, all he demands is authority to levy them, and an armed force to support him, and all he undertakes is that he will send the king yearly at least so much money. The tax-farming in Egypt was only differently managed. In the first part of the papyrus, there appear to be regulations affecting the government officials and their relations to the tax-farmers, and among these one seems plain,—no government official is, under any circumstances, to bid for or undertake the collecting of a tax. That must be done by private individuals. The state issues a notice that such tax will be sold by auction on such a day. Perhaps, indeed, the price was fixed, but the state made choice between various applicants. This point is not clear. But when these people bid for the contract, they

[1] 1 Macc. 10 : 25-35.

were by no means allowed to exact what they could above the rent they paid to the state. On the contrary, the whole process was watched and guarded, so that in the first place the state should not suffer; in the second, the *publicani* should not suffer; last, that the peasants should not be ruined. For this purpose the latter parts of the great papyrus give minute directions regarding the growing of wine and oil throughout the country. There is an accurate census in each district of the land under cultivation. The vines seem not limited in either direction. But as regards oil, the two plants which produced it, the sesame and the croton plant, must be sown in certain quantities. Even the seed is supplied, if necessary, by the state. The peasant is on no account to gather his crop or press his grapes without supervision. All the oil-presses are under the control of the *publicani*. The retail price to the local dealers in oil is fixed, as well as their profit. The whole thing is so minutely supervised that we can only suppose the peasant so burdened that any straining of his condition produced ruin, and so loss to the state.

But this curious document, which is here by no means exhausted, has already occupied us so long that I must now proceed to a discussion of the remainder of the pre-Christian Greek manuscripts. A large body of documents, almost all from Egypt, has reached us from the second and first centuries before Christ. One great col-

lection of them, now scattered through many museums, was found in an earthen pot near Memphis thirty or forty years ago. And this is not the only case of old manuscripts being preserved in this way. Recently, Mr. Petrie found in such a pot two complete and magnificently written late Greek documents, the deeds of a transfer of property between two Coptic monks; and my readers will no doubt remember, in the prophet Jeremiah, "Take these evidences . . . of the purchase; . . . and put them in an earthen vessel, that they may continue many days" (Jer. 32 : 14).

The great group, however, found at Memphis, contains the correspondence of a certain Ptolemy, son of Glaukias, a Macedonian settler in Egypt, which is interesting from various points of view. The many letters he writes and receives are dated in years running from 170 to 140 B.C.; that is to say, in the middle of the second century B.C. We owe most of them to the fact, otherwise unknown, that he belonged to a class of monks or recluses who shut themselves up in the great religious foundation called the Serapeum at Memphis, under vows not to leave the precincts of that great temple, or collection of temples, which included many shrines and hostelries, like a great medieval monkery. We know that he remained there at least fifteen years under his vow. But his devotions did not kill his interest in worldly affairs; nay, rather, he must have spent much of his time in

drawing up petitions to the crown officials at Memphis, complaining of damage to his property during his enforced absence; applying for a post in a regiment for his younger brother; telling of violences committed within the temple by Egyptian soldiers, who came under pretense of searching for malefactors; sometimes (but seldom) thanking the authorities for justice received. He even takes up the cause of his friends, and patronizes twin Egyptian girls who had been appointed priestesses of Isis in the Serapeum, and were defrauded by the officials of their maintenance in bread and in oil; for many salaries were paid by the state in kind, as taxes were collected from the peasants in produce, rarely in money.

The main outlines of this correspondence have been given in the recent volume published by the British Museum, with a splendid adjunct of photographs of the Greek papyri of that noble collection. But only some of the letters are there; others are in Paris, Leyden, Rome.

It is interesting, also, to note that this recluse of the Serapeum was no solitary instance of a monk before Christendom, but that other Greeks in Egypt used this means of escaping from troubles and dangers, and disappeared from their homes, to the great perturbation of their families. Two letters are extant—one at Rome, and the other in the British Museum—where a man's

relations complain pathetically of this treatment. I am sure my readers will be pleased to read a version of one of these letters. I need only premise that the man's wife calls herself his sister, according to an old and widely spread custom, not only among Egyptians, where brothers and sisters might marry, but among other Oriental nations where they might not. There are traces of this in our Scriptures, namely, in the fuller Esther of the Septuagint the king raises up the fainting Esther in his arms, and says, "What is it, Esther, am I not thy brother?" (Esther 5 : 15), and again in the Song of Solomon, "How fair is thy love, my sister, my spouse" (4 : 10). This by the way. Now for the letter of the deserted wife, which is incorrectly and illegibly written, and therefore not clear in all its details.

"Isias to Hephæstion, her brother, greeting. If you are well, and all your condition as you like it, my prayers to the gods are answered. I too am well, and the child, and all in the house, living in constant remembrance of you. On receiving your letter by the hand of Horus, in which you explain that you are in retreat in the Serapeum at Memphis, I forthwith thanked the gods that you were safe, but am grieved at your not coming home, seeing that all the others who were detained there have returned; for since you disappeared I have been in great straits to keep myself and the child, on account of the dearness of bread, and I hoped that even now, if you

came, I should gain some relief. But you have never considered about coming home and looking into our sad condition. For even when you were here we were in want of everything, not to say when you were so long absent in such bad times, and never sent us anything. Moreover, when Horus, who brought the letter, said that you were set free from your seclusion, I am quite in despair. But since also your mother is very ill, you will do well, for her sake as well as ours, to come back to the town, unless something more urgent detains you. Good-by, and take care of your health. Year 9, Epeiph the 30th."

This letter comes from the year 172 B. C. The circumstances by which Hephæstion and others were detained or arrested, and from which he escaped into the refuge of the Serapeum, are unknown to us.

Here, then, is a good specimen of the correspondence we find. But a far larger number of our papyrus fragments are dry accounts,—stewards' bills, lists of persons taxed, entries made by clerks of the royal ranks, assessments of property for taxing purposes. The arithmetic in these papers is very sound, and the signs for figures not unhandy, except that all the fractions (except $\frac{2}{3}$) are supposed to have unity for numerator. This compels them to subdivide larger numerators, and gives a series of fractions where we use one. There is also a difficulty about the currency, which was bimetalist (silver and copper). These matters, however, are only of interest to

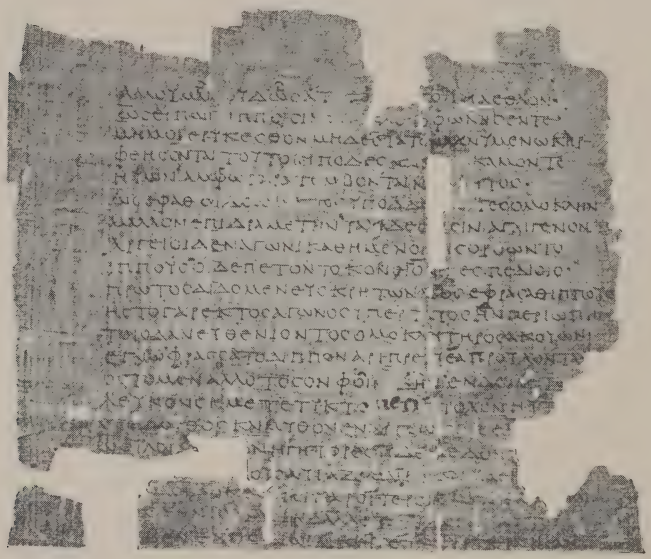
specialists. The writing of all the documents is cursive, more or less good, according to the education and care of the writer, but often exceedingly illegible and very badly spelled. Our friend Ptolemy has left us some rough drafts of his letters which are scandalously bad. He must have had some one to help him in the carefully revised copies which he has kept of the actual documents he forwarded. Many a time, in the accounts, we have a receipt signed for a farmer or for a donkey-boy, "because he does not know his letters."

There is another group of these papers coming from a pot at Thebes, of which I shall only note one, which is complete, containing three hundred and eleven lines of text in eleven columns, and giving a most careful report (in 117 B. C.) upon a trial held concerning a house and garden, which the plaintiff, a very old soldier stationed at Ombos, brings against a corporation of people engaged, not exactly in embalming the dead, but in the religious ceremonies connected with that occupation. He says that while his father and himself were serving, these people took gradual possession of his premises, and even defiled the neighborhood with their offensive business. They reply that they had gradually acquired the property from the co-heirs of the plaintiff, and that their trade was not only innocent but honorable. The judges, who are enumerated, draw up a report as perfect as any printed in the present day, stating the case, giving the

arguments of counsel on either side, citing documents in proof of sales, and finally giving their decision against the plaintiff. This thoroughly business-like document does much to save us from the feeling engendered by the correspondence of the Serapeum, that red tape was even then rampant, and that the law's delays were even worse than they now are. But Ptolemy had to deal with the passive and dogged resistance of apparently guilty sub-officials. A good many more legal documents—complaints, official orders—are extant, extending down to about 100 B. C., but there, by some curious accident, they stop. I am not aware of a single business papyrus dated with the celebrated Cleopatra's years.

But if there be this curious gap in the every-day writing, we now begin to have before us fragments of the classical authors who were the favorites in education and among the reading public. As these books are not furnished with dates by the scribe, we can only infer from the character of the writing the century or half-century in which they were written, and I will not say that mistakes in such inferences do not occur. He would be a bold paleographer who would assert positively that a given fragment of Homer was written 50 B. C., and not 50 A. D. However, there is no doubt that some of the classical fragments we possess come from the century before Christ. So do some of the philosophical tracts found in the charred library at Herculaneum. We know,

from the comparative frequency of its occurrence, that Homer was, as we could have foretold, the book of all others read by the Greeks of Egypt, and, no doubt, of other lands. His poems, or the poems attributed to him, took the place, in those days, which the English Bible



Homer's Iliad, Book XXIII, lines 441-461.

does in Protestant nations now, but with one difference. While our Bibles all over the world are in strict agreement as to the text, while we tolerate no variations in reading without the strongest reasons, we find that the current copies of Homer presented both slovenly, inaccurate, and varying texts. I have already commented on

the startling variations of the oldest scrap which has been found (in the Petrie papyri) from our now received texts. The later pieces, some of which date from the first century B. C., seem rather to show inaccuracy and haste than these large differences. For by this time the learned men of the museum at Alexandria, notably Aristarchus, whose activity reached down to about 143 B. C., had established a critical text by careful revision and correction, so that most popular copies conformed to their views. But the copyists were ignorant, and made so many mistakes that the careful vellum manuscript of the Iliad preserved at Venice, and known to scholars as *Codex Marcius Venetus A*, though it dates from a thousand years later, is a far better authority for the text of any disputed passage. I beg my readers to keep this fact in mind, as I shall recur to it when discussing the authority of the early manuscripts of the Scriptures. In addition to Homer, we know that Hesiod, Euripides, and the orators (Demosthenes and Hypereides), were much in use. There were also books of elegant extracts, or wise sayings from the poets, of which specimens were found even in the far earlier Petrie papyri.

So far as we can judge from the absence of any department from so imperfect and small a set of specimens, we are led to think that the recent and fashionable Alexandrian poetry, which made such a stir at Rome, and was so largely imitated by the Roman poets, was not popular in

the country parts of Egypt. For, as yet, Alexandria, lying deep under the rubbish of centuries, if not under modern buildings, has yielded us nothing. But so far as we can tell, there is a singular absence of scraps of Callimachus, Apollonius, Theocritus, and the rest of this epoch of Alexandrian work. Still more strange is the absence of Menander, whose "genteel comedy" was certainly very popular, and whose polished plays should have been as common, at least, as those of Sheridan are in English-speaking lands.

In the charred library of Herculaneum, there is, moreover, a marked absence of literary masterpieces. All that we have discovered there as yet are tracts on Epicurean philosophy. So much of this sort of thing has disappointed the labor of the unrollers, that public interest seems asleep regarding the many untouched rolls of the collection which still lie in the museum of Naples. Yet we have surely no reason to assert that any one of these blackened papyri does not contain some masterpiece to which Philodemus, or whoever was the owner, may have gone for spiritual relief after the dreary dulness of his materialistic philosophy.

As regards business documents, we now find that in Egypt a vast number of receipts for money, and other short texts, were written upon *ostraka*, or potsherds of red clay, unglazed, and of any shape. There is a whole literature concerning these potsherds, of which many

hundreds have been brought to Europe. Mr. Sayce has a great collection of them in his boat on the Nile. But I am not aware that they were used for any literary purposes. The Coptic monks living in the great necropolis over against Thebes, where M. Naville has recently been making his discoveries, used pieces of white limestone in the same way for brief business notes, and many of these are now in the British Museum. But we need not take account of them in treating of Greek manuscripts which regard literature.

We come now to consider the specimens of Greek writing preserved to us from the first generations of the Christian era. As I said before, the materials for the century 50 B. C. to A. D. 50 are very scanty. We have very few papyri—I am not sure that we have any—dated during these years. That is a mere accident, which may be remedied any day by a lucky find. We have a good many fragments of authors such as the orators Hypereides and Demosthenes, or the immortal Homer, which may have been written then; but in the present twilight regarding that particular epoch, and considering that book hands often follow older models, we do not feel safe in setting down any of them to this exact period. Until the discovery of the autotype process used in the reproduction of such texts by the British Museum, there was little use in writing about these things to the general reader. He could not follow the argument without

having seen the originals. But now that the art of photography has overcome the great difficulties of reproducing a yellow surface and a wrinkled surface without showing shadows, any one may buy, for a moderate price, the volumes of facsimiles published during the last five years by that museum, and make himself as accomplished a Greek paleographer as any of us who have discovered and deciphered these difficult hands. For example, the volume called "Classical Texts from Papyri," etc. (1891), gives a great many interesting specimens, along with the texts to which they belong, and is a short and handy volume. The volume called "Greek Papyri in the British Museum" (1893) is a larger work, and has as a pendant a magnificent folio volume of facsimiles. This great book ought to be in every public library in America, as in its large collection of complete reproductions specimens of all sorts, from the third century B. C. down to the eighth A. D., may be found. But be it understood that the late documents in the volume are not book hands, but cursive,—letters, contracts, etc.

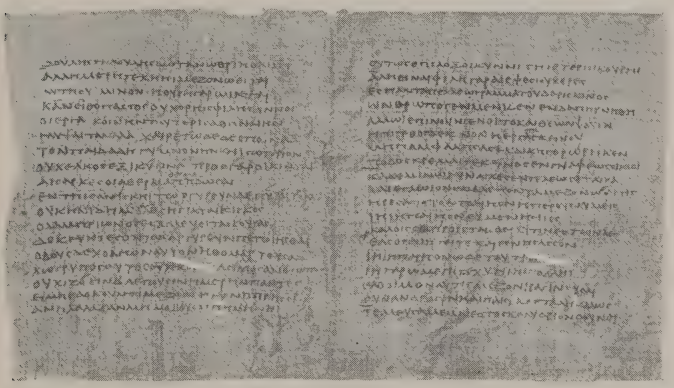
Fortunately we have one great document dated in the year A. D. 78-79 (reign of Vespasian), which affords us at least a starting-point. It is a long series of the accounts of a land steward, which, were it not for gaps, would give us the whole round of duties and the whole catalog of produce on an Egyptian farm, the price of labor, the method of keeping accounts. The deciphering even of

the text as printed in the larger volume referred to (pp. 170 *seq.*) will show at once the difficulties of the task. The writing is mostly in abbreviations, some of which are only to be filled out by conjecture. Some day a full commentary on this account will make a most interesting and instructive volume. But the importance of this long roll of papyrus only begins here. The three sheets of which the remaining account consists were presently stuck together by the possessor of them, in order to form a long roll, on the *verso* or back of which was copied out a long-lost classical text, the account of the Athenian constitution by Aristotle! My readers will wonder that the *recto* should not contain the book, and the *verso* the accounts. There are, however, clear indications that this is not so; for we know that writers on papyrus preferred to write along the fibers, rather than across them, so that in hundreds of cases, where only one side of a sheet is used, we can assert that the former is the front side of the paper. It was always made by laying two layers of fibers across another at right angles, the horizontal fibers running the whole length of the roll on the front side, the vertical fibers running from top to bottom of the roll on the back side. From this, and also from the pasting together of some of the accounts out of their proper order, we can say with certainty that the writers used up the backs of old sheets of accounts for this literary purpose.

This text of Aristotle is therefore subsequent to A. D. 78, but how many years? Probably but a few, yet we cannot be quite sure. At all events, we may set this writing down as first-century writing, the accounts on the other side being demonstrably so. And what shocking hands they are! Any one who cares to look into the facsimile (published in a separate volume by the British Museum) will be astonished that Mr. Kenyon or anybody else could read it. Of course, it is impossible to enter here upon the curious problems raised by the discovery of this text. Though it certainly represents what Plutarch and many of the old Greek grammarians considered as Aristotle's work,—over fifty-five of their citations from that work reappear in the papyrus,—it is so full of statements inconsistent with what we know from Herodotus and Thucydides that some scholars hold the people who quoted the book in old days to have been deceived by a spurious title, and to have taken the work of some second-rate and inaccurate person for that of the "master of those that know." Such are the new questions raised by almost every fresh discovery.

When I was in the Fayyûm, in 1894, I purchased some scraps of papyrus for our library in Trinity College. Among them was a column (originally sixty lines) from an unknown Greek novel, which seems, both to Mr. Kenyon and to me, to date from the end of the first century. It is not yet published, but contains the narrative

of two companion ships starting on a journey into the sea between Crete and Asia Minor, where they were overtaken by a terrific storm. As the narrative is in the first person plural, the narrators were represented by the author as having escaped. But if the writing is indeed so early, then this form of literature, now so popular, and of which we have several late Greek specimens



Herondas, Poem IV, lines 53-89.

(fourth century A. D.), must have been much older than our evidence hitherto led us to suppose.

Coming to the second century (and very possibly the fragment just described is not older), the main document of classical interest is the text of the satirical poet Herondas, published by the British Museum in text (1891) and in facsimile (1893). He gives us dramatic sketches of low life, and in some respects very bad life, such as Swift

might have done in verse if he had not preferred prose for his greater efforts. As studies in dialect, in the talk of the lower classes in Cos or in Alexandria in early Ptolemaic days, these satirical idyls or sketches are most valuable. The hand of the papyrus is in this case a regular book hand, and therefore perfectly easy to read where the roll is not broken. Thus an author of the third century B.C., whom we only knew by name and by the scantiest citations, has found his resurrection after a sleep of more than two thousand years!

The same thing is true to a great extent of Hypereides, the rival of Demosthenes in eloquence, and his accuser in the state trial which led to his disgrace and exile. We had some few remains of him, and used to deplore the fact that when the Turks stormed Pesth, and destroyed the library of Matthias Corvinus, a complete copy of this orator's works, with Greek marginal notes, had disappeared. Now we are recovering his speeches, bit by bit, from papyri of the first and second centuries, found in Egypt during the course of the last forty years; so that the remains of this once great personage now fill a small volume of Greek text, and give us the light we sought on the further development of Attic oratory from the lessons of its greatest masters.

The last group of specimens of this period which may here be mentioned are the papyri found at Herculaneum. As this town, however, was engulfed by lava and ashes in

A. D. 79,—the very year when some of the accounts on the Aristotle papyrus were being written,—whatever we have there recovered must necessarily belong, at latest, to the first century. But, seeing that the great majority are works of the Epicurean philosopher Philodemus, who was Cicero's contemporary, it is very probable that many of the actual rolls were written during his lifetime, and therefore in the century preceding the destruction of the city. On again looking through the twenty volumes of facsimiles published at Naples during the hundred years ending with 1876, I was struck with the fact that the treatises of Epicurus and of Metrodorus among them are even in much older hands, possibly the third century B. C., but that the Philodemian tracts, being written in several different hands, are not, what some have supposed, the autographs of the philosopher himself or his single amanuensis. There are also some fragments which certainly look later, and cannot be dated long before the destruction in A. D. 78. But here again, though we have the titles of most of these writings on the back of the roll, showing on the outside, and so the major limit given by the author's name, and though we often have the number of lines of the book noted beneath the name by the scribe,—as the first printed books gave the number of sheets, by way of security to the buyer,—yet in no case have I found the date of the writing.

Still the whole collection is quite the most valuable

group of documents to show us the book hands of the period about the time of Christ; and it is much to be desired that we could procure an autotype facsimile of the principal hands, for no engraver, however accurately he copies on steel, can reproduce the freedom of the actual handwriting. It will ever be a matter of regret that, when we did come upon an ancient library, we found but that of a specialist, and of one devoted to the poorest and shabbiest of the ancient systems of philosophy. But who knows whether among the remainder, which is yet to be unrolled, we may not find some priceless relic?

Although we have but few dated manuscripts from the centuries immediately following the Christian era, yet there are a good many scraps in cursive writing, running from the second century onward, which came from the great collections of the Fayyûm, and are now preserved either at Berlin or Vienna. Of these, Professor Wilcken of Breslau has published a volume of facsimiles, with German text (1891); but his plates are of little use to the learner, for he does not condescend to transcribe more than a line or two of each into print, though most of the hands are very difficult. But if we examine the specimens of book-writing in the same volume,—that is, the careful writing in capitals, called (most improperly) uncials,—we find that all the dates he assigns to them are mere guesses. Paleographers think

they can see a development in this, as in other writing, and so have attempted to reason backwards from hands dated a long time later. But how uncertain are these inferences! and how can we guarantee that all the various schools of writing in various places will develop at the same rate? May not any scribe of the sixth century, for example, have been able to copy a hand of the second sufficiently well to pass muster with us as the original?

We are, on the whole, rather unfortunate in not possessing some cursive manuscripts of our sacred books from an early date; for I cannot but hold that this kind of writing is much more surely datable from collateral specimens. It is not the least likely that any one would copy an older cursive scrawl, though he was most likely to do so when he found before him a stately piece of calligraphy. But so it is that even the very early Christian documents come to us in rather late books. The *Didaché* of the Apostles, lately found at Constantinople, is a book not older than the eleventh century, though we believe the composition of the work goes back to very early Christian days.

So there is in Wilcken's Plates (above referred to, No. III) a scrap from the Shepherd of Hermas. But though the professor holds it to be a very early hand, the only manuscript very like it is dated in the eighth century. My colleague Dr. Bernard and I put together a quantity

of most brittle fragments, which Mr. Petrie brought from the Fayyûm, written in a fine large hand, and in capitals, which Dr. Bernard most acutely identified as from the tract "On Adoration" by S. Cyril. But the very parallel hand of the *Codex Marchalianus*, beautifully facsimiled, and published at Rome in 1892, leads us to ascribe it to the sixth century. Mr. Grenfell has just brought from Egypt, and will publish next year in Hermathena (the journal of Trinity College, Dublin), fragments on papyrus of the prophet Ezekiel, which seems to be quite the oldest piece of any part of the Scriptures that has yet been discovered. But as I have not yet seen the actual text, I put forth this statement with reserve.

These are the doubts and the difficulties which I feel around me when I come to speak of the three famous manuscripts of our Scriptures which are the basis of almost all our textual criticism of the New Testament. I mean the *Vaticanus*, the *Alexandrinus*, and the *Sinaïticus*, all of which are to be obtained in excellent facsimile. The originals are in the Vatican Library, the British Museum, and the Imperial Library at St. Petersburg, respectively.

Our best authorities have declared that the Vatican manuscript comes from the earlier portion of the fourth century, and the Alexandrian from the late fourth or early fifth.

As regards the Sinaitic, its discoverer Tischendorf,

was disposed, as all discoverers are, to overrate the value of his treasure, and to make it at least as old as the Vatican book. But a very great authority, the late Professor Cobet of Leyden, told me that he had grave doubts on the subject, and was disposed to bring it down to the sixth century. This I mention as corroborating the attitude I assume on the question,—that of reserve as regards these ancient undated books until we can get a certain number of dated specimens with which to compare them.

There are good internal reasons—that is, the divisions into sections and references to the Eusebian canons—for dating the Alexandrian manuscript after the rest. But whether it too belongs to the fifth or the sixth century no man can tell with certainty. There is a fragment of Euripides's play, called *Melanippe*, on parchment at Berlin, which looks to me as old as any of the three. But we must also remember that, with the introduction of parchment (instead of the papyrus, which was growing scarce and dear), there was a considerable change in writing. The great early manuscripts of the Bible show a marked improvement upon earlier scripts, owing partly to this cause, partly, also, to the reverence with which early scribes treated the inspired text. It would occupy us too long to enter upon the contents of these books. That is a question of the fixing of the canon, and is to be discussed by theologians, not by paleographers.

We have, I believe, but one early dated book in uncial

characters, and that is the botanical work of Dioscorides (at Vienna), written for the Empress Juliana Anicia, as the scribe tells us, and therefore certainly early in the sixth century. It has illustrations, too,—a portrait of the empress, and colored drawings of plants, insects, etc.,—altogether a splendid book. I saw a copy of it (I believe), but much later, at the Monastery of Lavra on Mt. Athos. It is from a comparison of this with our biblical manuscripts that some have inferred their early dates.

I would not, however, let these critical doubts of mine mislead any reader into thinking that our authorities for the text of the Septuagint and of the New Testament are not excellent. I know of no Greek classical work which rests upon authority anything like so good. While for Homer, Æschylus, Sophocles, etc., we are obliged to trust to manuscripts a thousand years and more later than the authors, we have, for the New Testament, independent and careful copies dating at most three hundred years after the books were written. The tradition, therefore, as regards antiquity, is excellent, and there can be no reason to expect that any future discoveries will alter in any but the most trivial points the text of our New Testament Bible. Not that antiquity is by any means a conclusive proof of excellence in a manuscript. Our papyrus fragments of Homer, dating from before the time of Christ, are not at all so good as the manuscript preserved at Venice, which was written in the tenth cen-

tury. A new discovery of my friend Professor Blass of Halle shows that sometimes a late manuscript may preserve traditions lost in the earlier copies; for he has shown that the variants in a later codex (Beza) of the Acts of the Apostles, hitherto despised, apparently contain the notes and alterations of the writer himself, and point to a separate recension of the book, which has left no trace in history but this solitary manuscript. He has printed a critical text, and set forth his opinions in Hermathena (June, 1895).

It is not till we come to the ninth century—and late in that century—that we begin to have dated books more common; and in the tenth century a new modification, the medieval cursive or *minuscle* writing, came into vogue. A good many fine specimens, dated shortly before and after A.D. 900, are extant; and from hence onward Greek books are preserved in plenty, but are not—to me, at least—of the same interest. Nor could they be described without many details not suited to this sketch. But one remark on early printed Greek I must allow myself before I close.

The first attempts to represent Greek in types were in books which contain Greek quotations, like Macrobius, like Cicero's Letters, etc. The early Italian printers, especially the famous press at Subiaco, imitated good tenth-century handwritings, and even aimed at reproducing their Greek in neat capitals, or, at least, separate

letters. Then came (1476) the first Greek grammar, the beautiful Florentine Homer (1488), the Milan Isocrates (1493), — all admirable specimens, easy to read and stately to look upon. But by and by Aldus, the famous Venetian printer, to whom we owe so many beautiful books in what are called italics, undertook to publish Greek books also, and, most unfortunately, instead of choosing for the model of his type some fine old manuscripts of the ninth or tenth century, he took the cranky contracted hands of his own time, when men had copied so many Greek books that they began to scribble with sundry difficult abbreviations. The result was that an Aldine Greek text is an ugly and cramped thing, very difficult for modern people to read, and lamentably inferior to the pre-Aldine Greek books. His reputation for printing Latin and Italian was so justly great that it has radiated to this other branch of his business, and Aldine Greek texts have been sought out and praised by people who thought themselves judges of books. Any one who will compare the Aldine Aristophanes (1499) with the Milan Isocrates or the Florentine Homer, will agree with me when I assert that it shows a great decadence in Greek printing. Still worse, this untidy bad type became the mode for Froeben of Basle, Etienne in Paris, Elzevir in Holland, and it is only in such rare books as those of Parme (1740-50) that the finer tradition is preserved, until we reach the present century.

NEW LIGHT ON THE BOOK OF ACTS.

NEW LIGHT ON THE BOOK OF ACTS.

BY PROFESSOR W. M. RAMSAY, LL.D., D.C.L.

The discoveries which have been made in Asia Minor in recent years, and which bear on the interpretation, the historical authenticity, and the date of composition of the Acts, do not include any striking or sensational finds, but in their entirety they go far to constitute a new era in the understanding and the criticism of the parts of Acts concerned. To the commentators and scholars of former days, the travels of Paul, Barnabas, and Silas, in the inner country, were like the voyage of a ship in the sea, which left no trace behind to mark their passage. Names like Lystra and Derbe were scattered on the map by guess; and, though the modern names of the sites where Iconium and Pisidian Antioch stood were known, yet their relative position and their connection with other places were in many respects erroneously conceived.

Discussion for the future must take a new method: it must follow the apostles on their exact line of road, and

point to the exact place where, obedient to the directions of the Holy Spirit, they turned from their intended course to take another. Those elongated loop-lines in red ink, running free through the space of the map, which mark the second journey in the older books, must disappear, and be replaced by an indication which depends not on fancied probability, but on reasoned proof.

What I have now said is equivalent to asserting the exact historical authenticity of the narrative, and that is the great result of recent discovery. It has already ceased to be possible for a rational criticism to maintain that the narrative of these journeys is a free second-century composition; and it is rapidly ceasing to be possible to regard it as a series of first-century scraps, pieced together by a second-century compiler for his own purposes. Only a narrative written with full mastery by an eye-witness, or by one who was in communication with eye-witnesses, and able to use their accounts with delicate precision, could stand the minute study that is now demanded and applied. That minuteness is not restricted to geography, but extends to every department of interpretation. It is not a new discovery that the perplexing variety of titles for governors and magistrates of cities is correct in every case throughout the book; but it is now becoming far clearer than before, that the duties, powers, and character of the officials are all correctly delineated. Recent discoveries are enabling us to

conceive precisely what these officials were in actual life; and each new step in our knowledge only makes the narrative of Acts more luminous.

The fixing of Lystra with absolute precision by Professor Sterrett, of Amherst College, Massachusetts, and his approximate localization of Derbe (made more precise in my "Church in the Roman Empire"), were two great steps, which every one will appreciate. Far less striking in appearance were such minor points as that Lystra was a Roman colony, that Derbe was honored with the name of the emperor Claudius, that Derbe was the limit of the Roman world, beyond which lay the independent "Realm of Antiochus," and a great number of such small points, which it would be merely wearisome to enumerate one by one, but which, taken all together, have changed central Asia Minor from a *terra incognita* to a land whose topography, roads, political and social conditions, during the first century after Christ, are as well known as those of almost any other part of the Roman Empire, and far better known than those of such a province as Britain. When a narrative that contains so many details as that of Acts is examined in the light of the fuller knowledge now accessible, there is abundant opportunity for applying to it those tests with regard to date and historicity that are recognized in all other departments of criticism. At this point, however, when I try to write an impartial and statistical account of recent

discovery, a serious difficulty faces me. If the common and almost universally accepted conceptions with regard to the direction of the journeys across Asia Minor is accepted, the application of these tests would, so far as I can judge, go far to show that the narrative is, in many respects, inconsistent with ascertained facts; but, on the other hand, when certain modifications are made in the geography of the journeys, the narrative fulfils all the tests, and takes its place (apart from any religious character) as the most picturesque, detailed, and important authority for the antiquities and society of the country and period that has come down to us.

At the present stage, therefore, any account of recent discovery, that is to be a fair one, must state the two sides in a controversy which is still being maintained. It is still under discussion, and no agreement has been reached, what will be the representation given in future books to the Pauline journeys across Asia Minor. But the question, on the whole, takes this form: Are we to cling to the old view (with more precision in some of the details), or are we to adopt the view stated in the "Church in the Roman Empire"? The reader has probably been familiar from childhood with the old view, and the best service to him is to state what is claimed for the new view, as based on recent discovery.

The new view sets before us Paul as the Roman citizen, going to the great centers (or, at least, the active centers)

of Roman government and organization (the sole exception is Berea, which came in his course incidentally), traveling amid the surroundings of the first century; mentioning certain political divisions that existed only from A. D. 41 to A. D. 72, and never at any other period in history; classifying his newly founded churches according to the recognized divisions of the empire; accepting the existing political facts, as was natural for one who exhorted servants to "count their own masters worthy of all honor" (1 Tim. 6 : 1), and who inculcated in his pupils that "the proper rule of life is to accept the world's facts, not as in themselves right, but as indifferent" ("Church in the Roman Empire," p. 246), and adapting himself to them, as was natural in the missionary who "became all things to all men, that he might by all means save some" (1 Cor. 6 : 22).

Again, this view claims to bring the narrative of Acts into far closer relations to the Pauline Epistles. "It recognizes in Acts a work written to explain, to supplement, and to render more thoroughly intelligible, the Epistles." In particular, the Epistle to the Galatians is generally considered to have been unknown to the author of Acts, though it is hard to believe that the intimate friend, disciple, and medical adviser of Paul for many years, was not acquainted with that Epistle. On the new view, it is claimed that the two explain each other in such a marked way as to show that the

one book was intended to be read alongside of the other.

Finally, this view exhibits the narrative as standing in close relations with the popular colloquial language of the districts traversed; in several cases, the name used in current colloquial slang is employed in place of the formal official designation. The very language of Acts is that of a person who had traveled in the country, and not of one who had gathered his knowledge from books.

But, so far as the writer may judge, the very facts and words which stamp Acts as a genuine first-century composition, when the traveler's journeys are supposed to lie in one region, stamp it as inaccurate, and out of harmony with the known facts, when his journeys are supposed to lie in a different region (according to the current view). In this unsatisfactory and uncertain result, the present *résumé* must end. Every reader must study and judge for himself.

All of the discoveries alluded to here have been made on the surface. There has been a complete lack of excavating in recent years on any site that was likely to illustrate the Acts. The writer proposed to excavate the site of Lystra in 1894 or 1895, but funds were not forthcoming. It is greatly to be desired that systematic and thorough excavation should be made on such sites as Derbe and Lystra. Derbe in particular is an enticing site, as it is absolutely uninhabited, and therefore both

promising and inexpensive. Lystra is in many respects more interesting, as bulking so much more largely in the Acts; the temple of Jupiter "before the city" should be easily discovered, and there are points in the narrative that cannot be clearly understood until the topography of the city and the situation of the temple are settled. Even that little point of grammar, the use of the name "Lystra" in the second declension dative and the first declension accusative, might be proved by inscriptions to have been a local usage, in which case this little peculiarity (which has been treated by some critics as a sign that the narrative is founded on two older documents, which declined the name "Lystra" in different ways) would be added to the accumulating proofs of the author's intimate acquaintance with local names and usages. Iconium and Antioch are, for various reasons, less suitable for a scheme of excavation; but, as education progresses in the two cities which stand on (or close to) their sites, accidental discoveries are sure to be made in the course of building operations, which may prove interesting and important. In another year, Iconium will probably be on a railway line.

The Christian antiquities in Asia Minor of the second and third centuries bear indirectly on the interpretation of Acts. In one of the earliest Christian inscriptions, the epitaph of Avircius Marcellus, a prominent figure in the history of the second century (whose tombstone has

recently been brought to Rome, and deposited in the Lateran Museum), Paul is referred to as his chief guide and counselor, whom he always carried with him whereever he went. To give some idea of the rich material that has been recently discovered in this subject, the best way is to quote a few sentences from the Preface to my "Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia" (Vol. I, 1895): "Perhaps the most important part of this book will be found in the chapters on the early history of Christianity in the country. The questions that were agitating society, the currents of development, the transforming policy of the Roman government, the conservative resistance of the old religious hierarchy, the original cooperation of Pauline Christianity with the Roman policy, the later alliance between the empire and the native religions against the growing power of the Church, the steps by which the adherents of the new religion, beginning as members of the general society of the country, gradually differentiated themselves from it, and created a new form of society,—all these topics will, it is hoped, receive elucidation; and a series of pre-Constantinian inscriptions, such as cannot be matched in any other country, will be arranged so as to throw light on the relations between the Christians and their non-Christian fellow-citizens."

In Greece, undoubtedly the most interesting point in recent investigation is the suggestion made by Professor

Ernst Curtius with regard to the speech of Paul in Athens. Every one who visits Mars Hill, to inspect the scene where the speech was delivered, must be struck (as the writer was in 1882) with the unsuitability of the situation for delivering an oration to a large audience. Mars Hill is a small rock with a flat top, capable of accommodating at the utmost a close-packed audience of a hundred persons; and this rock surmounts a rather steep slope that leads down towards the market-place and the city. Paul "stood in the middle of Mars Hill,"—and it seems impossible to take any other meaning from this except that he stood in the middle of the flat space on the top of the hill. In such a position, he could not possibly make himself heard by even a moderately large audience.

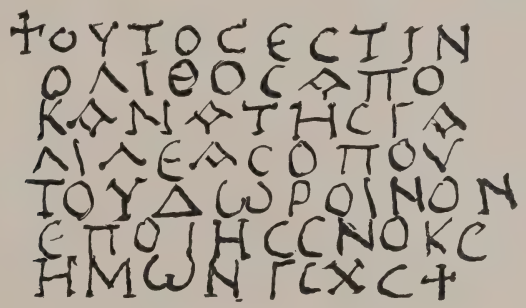
I believe that any one who goes and investigates the localities will come to the conclusion that there is no way of adapting the description to the localities, except by taking it in a quite vague and loose fashion, which is very different from the precise, business-like accuracy of the details in such a scene as the one at Ephesus, and which is quite out of keeping with the delicate and ready way in which the Apostle in his speech seizes the incidents and characteristics of Athenian life, and adapts them to his own purposes. To omit several other reasons, the student of Athenian literature and life knows that, beneath their flippancy and recklessness in divine matters, there lay a pride in their race, their origin, and their

national gods and national history, which would have regarded as an impiety and an insult the conducting of a foreign babbler to what was perhaps the holiest and the most historic spot in Athens, in order to satisfy the curiosity of an idle crowd. These considerations would lead one to doubt the accuracy of the narrative; but they are avoided by Ernst Curtius, who points out that the name "Areopagus" here denotes, not the hill, but the court which derived its name from the hill.[1] This court sat on the hill-top only when it was judging cases of homicide, according to the ancient fashion; on ordinary occasions it acted as judge in certain matters of common life, and sat in the "King's Stoa" beside the market.

But Curtius has left some difficulties. He has not clearly explained the apparent want of accusation and accuser and result, if Paul was taken before a bench of judges to defend himself. I think, however, that Curtius has partially failed only because he did not go far enough. The scene is full of the words of Athenian current slang, and it lies amidst one section of Athenian life, the most important section at that time,—namely, the University. Paul was subjected by the "Professors of the University" to an inquiry into his methods of teaching, his claims to

[1] Professor Blass of Halle, in his recent great edition, denies that the name "Areopagus" could ever be used to designate the court; but in a letter to the present writer he admits that he has gone too far, and that examples occur (the most striking being quoted by the writer in a review of Professor Blass's edition in The Expositor, February, 1895).

be permitted to teach, and the effect of his teaching on the young, before the court which had jurisdiction in cases affecting the relation between the state and the University; and the result of their inquiry was an adjournment of the case for further hearing. The scene is unique in Acts, but it is, like the other incidents, photo-

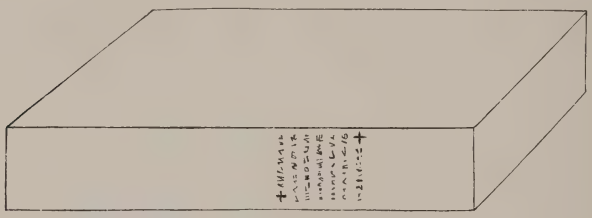


Inscription on the Stone of Cana.

graphed from the life; and, in order to be properly understood, it must be examined like a photograph.

A discovery of much interest was made in the course of the French excavations at Elatea in Phocis,—namely, a very large flat stone (about 8×2×1 ft.), with the inscription in Greek, "This is the stone from Cana of Galilee, where our Lord Jesus Christ made the water wine." Towards the end of the sixth century, the pilgrim Antoninus of Piacenza visited Cana, and mentions that he saw there two of the water-jars in which the water had been changed, and the couch on which the Lord had reclined at the table. Antoninus took the

opportunity, like a true and pious tourist, of reclining on this couch, and of writing the names of his parents upon it. The inscription still remains (part, however, having disappeared), scratched in faint letters on the upper surface near the place where a person would naturally write if he were reclining on his left side on the stone: "[Remember, O Lord, the father] and the mother of me Antoninus." It is remarkable that Antoninus



The Stone of Cana, showing the position of the inscription.

though an Italian, scrawled this graffito in Greek, adopting the language of the country where he was. This great stone was carried to Elatea at some time after the sixth century; and M. Diehl, from whom I quote, thinks that probably it was taken first to Constantinople, whither many other Palestinian relics were carried, and brought thence to Elatea by some Frankish lord after the capture of Constantinople by the Latins in 1204, and the formation of the Frankish principalities in Greece.

An interesting and important point in connection with St. Paul's situation during his imprisonment in Rome has recently been brought out by Professor Theodore

Mommsen. It has hitherto been understood that Paul, when he reached Rome, was given over into the charge of the commander (or one of the two commanders) of the pretorian guard, and by him entrusted to a soldier. This is not stated in Acts, which merely says, "Paul was suffered to abide by himself with the soldier that guarded him" (Acts 28 : 16); but it has been inferred from Philippians 1 : 12, 13: "My bonds became manifest in Christ throughout the whole pretorian guard." Mommsen, however, points out that it would be entirely inconsistent with the position and duties of the pretorian commander that he should take any charge of, or responsibility for, prisoners; and he explains the words of Philippians as referring to the actual trial (which was now in progress, at the conclusion of Paul's long detention in prison, when he wrote to the Philippian church) before the pretorian commanders as judges, with their numerous assessor and subordinate officials. The pretorian commanders acted as judges, not as jailers.

Now comes the remarkable discovery. A certain number of Greek manuscripts (not considered as of the highest authority), a corrector of a Syriac version, and an early-Latin version, name the officer under whose charge Paul was delivered (Acts 28 : 16); and they name, not the pretorian commander, but another officer, the *princeps peregrinorum castrorum*, who is very rarely alluded to, and whose very name is omitted in most of the trea-

tises on Roman antiquities. That officer is commonly thought to be an institution of the latter part of the second century; but, according to Mommsen, he must have been instituted by Augustus. It formed a part of his duties to receive and be responsible for prisoners brought from the provinces to Rome. Thus, at one stroke, the accuracy of Acts is vindicated, the original form of the text as written by Luke restored after it had been lost from the great manuscripts, and an addition made to our knowledge of Roman antiquities by the evidence of Acts. Incidentally, it was noticed by Mommsen that this name for the officer was a colloquial term, and not a proper official name, in the first century; and hence it was not used in inscriptions (which are official documents) until near A. D. 200. But, as we have seen in Asia Minor, the language of Acts is the language of the traveler familiar with, and guided by, educated colloquial usage.

The moral of this imperfect sketch of recent discovery is that research on the scenes of Paul's career should be pressed on vigorously, and should be completed by excavation.

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ARABIAN DESERT
PERSIAN GULF
GULF OF ADEN
RED SEA
Constantinople
Bosphorus
Troy
Pergamon
Sardis
Smyrna
Ephesus
SAMOS
Iconium
Lystra
Derbe
Tarsus
Antioch
Aleppo
Hamath
Kadesh
Damascus
Beyrût
Sarepta
CYPRUS
Joppa
Alexandria
Pithom
GOSHEN
Cairo
Pyramids of Gizeh
Memphis
Fayyûm
Medum
Minieh
Tel el-Amarna
Assiut
Ekhnum
Thebes
Karnak
Luxor
Kom Ombo
Assuan
Kalabsheh
Dakkeh
Abu-Simbel
NUBIA
EGYPT
Dead Sea
Elat
Mt. SINAI
El Oela
Medina
Mecca
Zeitun
Marash
Gerin
Semiramis
Aintâb
Malatiyeh
Diarbekir
Urfa (Edessa)
Birejik
Carchemish
Pethor
Nisibis
Lake of Van
Mt. ARARAT
NINEVEH
Khorsabad
Mosul
Tell Abta
Der
Akarkûf
Baghdad
Abu-Habbah
BABYLON
Kerbela
Hillah
Kish
Tagharet
Nuffar
Susa
Tigris
Euphrates
Dawânîyeh
Tello (Shirpurla)
Ur
Erida
Bassorah
Wady ed-Dawasir
Wady er-Rumma
KHAKHUM MOUNTAINS
Ma'în
Barâkish
Khârid
Lahaia
San'a
Sirwâh
Mârib (Saba)
Aden
HADRAMAUT
HIMJAR
KATABÂN
EL YEMAMA
EL BAHREIN
MESOPOTAMIA (ARAM NAHARAIM)
ASSYRIA
MEDIA
ELAM
BABYLONIA
ARAM
CAUCASUS MOUNTAINS
ENLARGED SECTION of PALESTINE
Scale of Miles
MAP
TO ACCOMPANY
RECENT RESEARCH IN BIBLE LANDS
EDITED BY HERMAN V. HILPRECHT
Scale of Miles
Longitude East from Greenwich

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